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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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SFRY's Loncar on East-West Relations, CSCE

LD0203211190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1622 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Valletta, March 2 (TANJUG)—The new climate in East-West relations should be used to initiate talks on security in the Mediterranean between the 35 countries of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and other Mediterranean countries, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar told the ministerial conference of nine neutral and nonaligned European countries here on Friday.

Loncar said that a proposal by the neutral and nonaligned countries on a special CSCE meeting on a peaceful solution to disputes can also gain support in the new conditions.

He said the changes in Europe have also made possible the work on an European document on the rights of minorities.

Loncar said the European changes are of historic importance and that the existence of blocs is losing meaning, but that the existing balance could also be disturbed.

The Yugoslav foreign minister underscored the importance of CSCE as a kind of regulator of the new events and instruments of balance.

The meeting, which opened yesterday in Malta's capital, centered on changes in Eastern Europe and CSCE's role in integration and other processes, initiated by these changes.

The participants of the conference are today expected to agree on the proposals for a CSCE summit, to be held in next fall.

Kapllani Speaks at Athens Balkan Meeting

AU0803133990 Tirana ATA in English 0850 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 8 (ATA)—On March 7 before noon, the meeting of the senior officials of the foreign ministries of the Balkan countries began its proceedings in one of the halls of the Hotel Grand Bretagne in Athens. Participating are the delegation of the PSRA [People's Socialist Republic of Albania] headed by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy foreign minister; the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by Stefan Staykov, first deputy minister for foreign affairs; the delegation of the Republic of Romania, headed by the coordinator for the Balkan cooperation Ion Maggeli [name as received]; the delegation of the Republic of Turkey, headed by the deputy secretary for foreign affairs, Husen Celev; the delegation of the SFR of Yugoslavia, headed by Vladimir Sultanovic, federal undersecretary for foreign affairs; as well as the delegation of the Republic of Greece, headed by Panaiotis Ikonomou, secretary general of the Foreign Ministry.

Prior to the beginning of the proceedings of the meeting, the minister for foreign affairs of the Republic of Greece, Yeoryios Papoulias received at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs the delegations participating in this meeting.

The plenary sitting of the meeting of the senior officials of the foreign ministries of the Balkan countries held its proceedings according to an agenda adopted by the participant delegations. The meeting was declared open by the secretary general of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic Panaiotis Ikonomou, with the attributes of chairman as host country. He gave the floor to the minister for foreign affairs of Greece, Yeoryios Papoulias. Greeting on behalf of the Greek Government, he expressed the wishes that the proceedings of this meeting develop successfully in order to contribute to the further strengthening of cooperation among the Balkan countries. He also conveyed the warm greetings of the premier of Greece, Xenofon Zolotos. Further on, the minister for foreign affairs of Greece, Yeoryios Papoulias stressed the need of strengthening the confidence and understanding and expressed his belief that the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries scheduled to be held in Tirana in October this year, will further consolidate the process of the Balkan cooperation.

The first to take the floor in the plenary sitting was Muhamet Kapllani, head of the Albanian delegation, deputy minister for foreign affairs. After thanking for the warm reception and very good conditions he said:

The Albanian delegation considers this meeting important not only because it will draw a balance sheet of the multilateral activities conducted in the course of more than a year of work since the Tirana meeting, but it also define the other Balkan activities for the coming period. We consider encouraging the fact that the Balkan countries have initiated a process of cooperation that responds to the fundamental interests of the peoples and countries of the region, the rapprochement and friendship amongst them. Now it is becoming ever more clear that this is not only a good wish and circumstantial phenomena, but also a realistic alternative.

The Albanian delegation upholds that even the rapid developments in Europe particularly those in the European East and the eventuality of creating new equilibriums have brought to the fore still more the need of further deepening the process of the Balkan cooperation.

The creation of a real atmosphere of confidence and understanding, so much indispensable to promote cooperation in all the fields, is directly linked with the need to avoid the old problems inherited from history and those created sometimes artificially and which in a way or another are noticed in the bilateral relations as limiting factors.

Life is proving more and more that the improvement of the inter-Balkan relations and creation of a real climate of confidence and understanding are closely linked with a contemporary and progressive stand regarding the problems of minority. Particularly in our region, where history has mixed the people so much with one another, these problems must be solved not through passions, either through force and violence, but with objectivity, wisdom and tolerance. These problems must not become complicated by the visions and concepts of the past.

The process of cooperation can be instigated and realised if we take as a point of reference the current realities and throw the glance towards the future.

We, he said further on, notice with satisfaction that during the one-year period since the meeting of the senior officials of the ministries of foreign affairs held in Tirana last year, several activities have been conducted showing that the will and predisposition exist to seek paths, possibilities and forms for a concrete and diversified mutually beneficial cooperation.

The activities organised by the Balkan countries in various sectors of the economic cooperation until now have had more an acquainting and exploratory character. And this is natural for the first stage. We deem it proper that it is high time to pass on to concrete activities in continuation of the meetings of the respective experts, aiming to provide our cooperation with more content and attain results.

Of special importance are the problems of the struggle against terrorism, drug-addiction, and arms-trafficking. Owing to the laws and other measures, such phenomena were nipped in the bud in Albania. We are ready to render our contribution so that these wounds which nowadays have become so disturbing on international scale do not develop in the Balkans. But, certainly, first of all we should have it clear what is considered terrorist activity.

We think that the vast public opinion should play a sensitive role in the process of cooperation. A special beneficial activity in this direction might be played by the parliamentarians and parliaments of our countries which might serve to the rapprochement of the viewpoints and improve the general climate of understanding.

In this context we uphold that the idea of creating the parliamentary groups of Balkan cooperation and understanding deserves a special attention.

Among the activities realized in the countries of our region by the non-official social organisations we want to mention also the meeting of the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation Committees and of similar non-governmental organisations conducted in Tirana last October, as well as the general assessment that it was a constructive effort on the part of all the parties to create a broad social base for the Balkan understanding and cooperation.

As known it is now decided that the second meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries will be held in Tirana in October this year. We are confident that through joint efforts we shall succeed that this meeting be a step forward in this process. It is understandable that during this period up to October we shall conduct consultations and exchange views together in all possible levels, so that this meeting be ever better prepared.

We are of the opinion that special attention should be devoted to the recommendation of the Tirana meeting of top officials for drafting a document of the principles of good-neighbourliness among the Balkan states, which for the first time in the history of the inter-Balkan relations would formulate a joint engagement which reflects the aspirations of our peoples for friendship and good neighbourliness.

In conclusion, the deputy foreign minister Muhamet Kapllani said, the Balkan cooperation should see its perspective in the context of broadening and intensification of the international cooperation.

Then the floor was taken by the head of the Bulgarian delegation, the first deputy minister for foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Stefan Staykov, who said among others that a certain experience has been gained in the field of cooperation. We are fully convinced that the extension of the regional cooperation in the Balkans is in the interest of all the Balkan countries. The meeting of the senior officials of the ministries for foreign affairs of the Balkan countries in January of 1989 in Tirana has put forth a broad and rich program of activities in the framework of the Balkan cooperation.

In his speech, the head of the Romanian delegation, coordinate of Balkan cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ion Maggeli said among others, the current meeting is of special importance in the complex conditions existing in the Balkans today, both in the framework of the bilateral relations and the multilateral ones. Proceeding from this, he said, more than ever our efforts should be intensified to cooperate in mutually beneficial domains.

In his speech the undersecretary of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, Husen Celev, emphasized among others that the Athens meeting is holding its proceedings one year after the successful Tirana meeting of January 1989, which constitutes an important step to attain the targets of the Balkan cooperation and expressed the satisfaction that the recommendations of the process verbal of the Tirana meeting have been in general well realised. Further on the Turkish delegation said that the cooperation among the Balkan countries is to the interest of all the countries of the region.

In his speech the leader of the Yugoslav delegation Vladimir Sultanovic stressed the benefit of the Athens meeting and pointed out that the development of the Balkan multilateral cooperation and of the relations among the states of the region is of special importance for the holding of the foreign ministers' meeting in Tirana to which we all devote a special importance. Likewise he stressed the necessity of preparing a medium term program of regional cooperation in the field of science, technique and technology.

Taking the floor on behalf of the Greek delegation, the coordinator of the Balkan cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, Aleksander Bayenas said that the current meeting will render a great contribution not only to the further strengthening of the relations among our countries, but also to the necessary atmosphere of understanding in the region and on the European continent in general after making a summary of the Balkan activities conducted since the meeting of the top officials of the foreign ministries in Tirana, Bayenas assessed that following the Tirana meeting we have witnessed the broadening of the Balkan cooperation in new fields.

The meeting of the top officials of the foreign ministries of the Balkan countries continues its proceedings.

Agreements Reached; Roundtable Talks To Resume

AU0803190190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] The Secretariat of the national roundtable announces:

A meeting of the national roundtable contact group took place on 8 March. The participants discussed the text of the national roundtable agreement on the political system, a declaration on the national roundtable role and status, and the proposal of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party on a national consensus that would guarantee the peaceful development of the transition toward a democratic political system.

An agreement was reached on the final drafts of those documents.

It was envisioned that the documents will be signed at the next meeting of the national roundtable to take place on 12 March.

BCP's Bokov Discusses Roundtable

AU0803144890 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Filip Bokov, Bulgarian Communist Party spokesman for the roundtable talks, by Dilyan Todorov; place and date not given: "Let Us Wait Until Monday"]

[Text] [Todorov] Our latest meeting with Filip Bokov takes place on the occasion of his latest appointment. What is his new function?

[Bokov] My situation might already seem a litte ridiculous. I am changing my job every six weeks, but according to a decision of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Supreme Council Presidium. I have become a member of the national roundtable delegation since last week and have been appointed delegation spokesman. Together with my colleague Dimitur Yonchev, I am also supposed to serve as spokesman of the Supreme Party Council Presidium.

[Todorov] Does this fact not suggest a shortage of cadres?

[Bokov] On the contrary, the fact that the Supreme Council has appointed two spokesmen indicates that we have enough cadres, in my view. For me, personally, this means greater efficiency in my work, so that I may not waste my time.

[Todorov] It has been officially announced that the roundtable should resume its work "on Monday." Which Monday is meant?

[Bokov] I cannot tell you precisely which Monday is meant. There is some reason to assume that the talks will be resumed next week, namely at the beginning of the week. However, these reports are based on the unofficial contacts and consultations that the BCP delegation is conducting with Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] representatives. The contact group members are in charge of preparing an agreement on the political system in our country that should be submitted to the two roundtable delegations' leaders. We regret that the work on this agreement was virtually interrupted for as long as two weeks. Today, we are still at the same point at which the discussions were interrupted on 22 February 1990, when at a meeting between Aleksandur Lilov and Zhelyu Zhelev it was proposed to pursue the drafting of the agreement's text. These consultations were held yesterday and today, and work is progressing rapidly, as a matter of fact. I hope that the contact group can come together on Thursday in order to draft the agreement's final text. It is expected that the agreement will be signed at a plenary session within the forthcoming week. In addition to the agreement, a declaration on a roundtable statute and a nationwide agreement on the peaceful transition to a democratic system in our society should be signed. This was proposed as part of the six initiatives adopted by the Supreme Party Council at its last session.

[Todorov] Does the fact that the daily DEMOKRATSIYA published the draft agreement on the political system on the instructions of the UDF Coordination Council, represent a breach of procedural rules, as some of our readers claim?

[Bokov] We can hardly call this a breach considering that there is no procedural rule banning such publication. Nevertheless, such actions always appear too hasty, especially when they involve such crucial and controversial negotiations as the ones we are just conducting, because there is always a risk that the final version of the negotations' results may differ from the draft version that has been published. In international negotiations, both sides are always careful to avoid such steps because in the event of differences between the two, published versions one of the two sides might be embarrassed.

[Todorov] May I ask you a question that is not related to the roundtable? According to an unconfirmed report, we learned that the BCP's election platform is ready. Might this be true?

[Bokov] What I can say at this particular stage is that a draft for the party's election platform exists, but it has not been discussed by the Supreme Party Council Presidium. Such a discussion is expected to take place in the coming days. So far, the first draft versions of the platform have been prepared by the relevant commission appointed by the BCP Congress. Competent experts have been additionally involved in these activities, as required. For the time being, we can only rely on the opinions of some participants in the commission and of some Supreme Council members. The draft is expected to be submitted for broader discussion.

[Todorov] One last question: How are the preparations on a referendum expected to finally determine the future name of the BCP proceeding, if there are any such preparations at all?

[Bokov] These preparations are in an initial stage. At the next session of the BCP Supreme Council Presidium, we intend to clarify certain technical details on the referendum procedure and on the possible dates for holding it. It would presumably be required to provide certain additional clarifications on our reasons for changing the party's name. Naturally, we should take into consideration the fact that the major part of this discussion was already conducted prior to the congress and during the congressional proceedings. In other words, we should expect the Supreme Party Council Presidium to submit its specific views on holding the referendum in question no later than at the beginning of next week.

Union Leader Discusses Strikes, Unemployment

AU0703085690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Mar 90 p 1,2

[Interview with Professor Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions, by unidentified RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter; place and date not given: "Unemployment Comes After Strikes"]

[Text] [RABOTNICHESKO DELO] What is your forecast about the growth of the unemployment rate in our country toward the end of 1990?

[Petkov] The future prospects are far from optimistic. According to experts, the number of future unemployed workers is expected to exceed 100,000 in the industrial sector alone. The state and the economic organizations have not provided such statistics, but if they are referring to the permanently unemployed they are between 5,000 and 10-12,000 today.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] What do you think about the secret unemployment existing in the Kurdzhali, and in some Smolyan areas? Will the labor migration of male workers continue in those areas?

[Petkov] Until recently, the areas you are referring to were a reservoir of totally or partially unskilled labor. We are expecting this situation to change because there will be an excess of manpower in the central parts of our country. The situation will deteriorate further, since part of the traditional spheres of employment in the border areas, such as the nonferrous metallurgy and mining sectors, are expected to encounter difficulties. An urgent problem emerges in this connection, a problem that may turn out to be more important than the nationality question. It is, above all, necessary to calm down the sociopolitical situation in the aforementioned areas. No one can help the local people more than they can help themselves. I am talking about Kurdzhali, Khaskovo, and so forth....

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Can you explain how they should help themselves?

[Petkov] In the first place, it would be appropriate to evaluate the socioeconomic situation in the area and the available employment opportunities. Following this, urgent measures should be adopted to discover additional, auxiliary productions. Unfortunately, nothing of the sort is happening, as far as I can see, unfortunately.

[RABOTNICHESO DELO] Can you tell us which institutions are supposed to take care of this?

[Petkov] The local authorities, with our assistance, should fulfill their obligations in this respect. The managers of large enterprises should get involved in such actions.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Can you explain the views of your confederation on questions of social welfare in case of unemployment? What is the role assigned to such measures in the general agreement?

[Petkov] We were to hasty in adopting Decree No. 57 by the end of 1989. It was our intention to introduce at least one mechanism likely to mitigate the consequences of partial unemployment by offering social assistance. Nevertheless, because numerous productions were partially, or totally discontinued, the number of unemployed, or of those threatened by unemployment has highly increased. Therefore, we insist that every major enterprise that expects mass dismissals prepare a special program for comprehensively settling all problems related to retraining, transfers to other jobs, or social security over such periods. In certain cases, it is necessary to insure entire families who have established their homes in the areas of national building projects. These claims are part of the general agreement that we are proposing to sign with the government.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Has your organization adopted a total platform of measures to overcome the crisis?

[Petkov] We are currently working on our program, which is not an economic program. Its basic concepts are related to social welfare mesures—concerning wages, employment, living standard, training, and retraining of cadres. Naturally, this program should also reflect our views on purely economic meassures aimed at overcoming the crisis, but we do not intend to duplicate the government's anticrisis program.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Can we talk about guaranteeing social security in view of the country's current economic situation?

[Petkov] We are talking about the minimum of existence, or about a social minimum, which is slightly higher. Without guaranteeing this, we can hardly mark any further progress, we can hardly achieve any consensus, or any social peace in our country.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] What do you think about democratization of property in the rural areas?

[Petkov] I am surprised at the naive ideas of certain politicians who appeal for a return to small-scale farming, without taking the existing realities into consideration. I would advise them to visit the rural areas and talk to the people, to find out who is willing to take over the land.

Such people do exist, but they are not many and they voice numerous demands. Everything should be done for them, and especially for the younger families to keep them in the villages.

It is my personal opinion that it would be more efficient to transform the land into communal property by widely applying the land-lease method. It is, however, beyond any doubt that the villages should be granted the opportunity of self-government as soon as possible.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] You insist on your intention to strictly limit your activities to trade union matters, however, you asked for the resignation of the former government?

[Petkov] Numerous precedents exist in the history of the trade union movement related to cases in which unions have confronted their governments from strictly trade unionist positions. Trade unions have attacked governments and not only in connection with one or two ministerial posts. Our action may have been perhaps unprecedented in our recent history, but it was certainly legitimate.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] How do you evaluate the fact that the Teachers Trade Union joined your confederation?

[Petkov] I think that this is one of the examples confirming the correct approach of people who are establishing alternative trade unions at their own initiative. Naturally, we consider this a small victory in our competition with the Podkrepa Federation.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Why did the physicians' union and part of the intelligentsia prefer to join Podkrepa?

[Petkov] It is difficult to answer this question. There is a certain psychological effect involved related to the fact that Mr. Trenchev is a medical doctor and that his first program, which was issued in January 1989, and also the second program of the federation, attached great importance to the work of the intelligentsia, or at least to part of the intelligentsia. In addition to this, Podkrepa is daily involved in these spheres. From my last meetings with the intelligentsia, I became convinced that we can find a common language with them. From the very beginning we devoted our efforts to the workers, to the production intelligentsia, to the majority of professional strata. We just did not have time to engage in a dialogue with everyone.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Could you specify your accusations against the Independent Podkrepa Labor Federation of sending emissaries to various collectives, inciting their dissatisfaction and encouraging them to go on strike?

[Petkov] I would recommend that you examine the events at the Radomir plant. This is an instructive case, showing how the collective was manipulated for the purpose of fanning tensions. The workers were not responsible for the construction of this giant plant. The case of the Radomir plant is a matter concerning the state, above all else. The trade unions should express their opinion on the case, but the trade union issue should by no means overshadow the other problems. I think that the situation in Radomir is being taken advantage of for other goals.

Or let us take the strike at the Koshasva Mine near Vidin, where Kiril Atanasov is acting as a Podkrepa emissary. The same applies to the case of the Sofia elevator services' strike in which our organizations conducted the negotiations, after the Podkrepa organizers had already announced the date of the strike....

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO, interrupting] Is the question of trade union independence discussed in connection with the problem of trade union leaders' affiliation with political organizations?

[Petkov] This question was discussed at our congress. I am a member of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]-Alternative Socialist Association [ASO]. I proposed two solutions—either that I should renounce my party membership (it was my case that was discussed, in particular), or that I should freeze my membership. The congress accepted the second solution. This means that I should not engage in any party activities, not even in the primary party organizations. My membership shall remain a symbolic one.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] In what areas could you cooperate with Podkrepa?

[Petkov] Such cooperation could extend to specific issues—such as joint actions for the signing of a general agreement, discussion of the Law on Collective Labor Disputes—none of these things have taken place, unfortunately. I would be glad if our experts could work together on a new trade union draft law.

Nonetheless, we accomplished a first step by establishing a contact group to discuss the question of trade union property and other rights of trade union members, which was submitted by the Independent Podkrepa Trade Union Federation.

Labor Daily Surveys Mining Disputes

AU0703132390 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
6 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Sonya Gulubarova report: "Strike Until Victory Is Gained, or the End of the Bobov Dol Mining and Energy Complex"]

[Text] Although the special government commission has already begun its examination of the miners' claims for job regrading, the Bobov Dol Economic Mining and Energy Complex's underground workers are continuing their strike. No favorable effect was produced either by the meeting held on 5 March at the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria offices between collective representatives of the Babino Mine; Stefan Milenkov, chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Mines, Metallurgy, Energy Industry, and Geology; Kolyo Kolev, deputy chairman of the Committee on the Energy Industry; and Mladen Mladenov, deputy chairman of the trade union confederation.

The agreement reached at the meeting, namely that all the participants in the talks should meet on the spot with the Bobov Dol collectives and hold negotiations, was later left hanging in the air. At their general meeting, the striking miners did not show any desire for dialogue with the economic and trade union figures who came to meet them. The miners' decision was that either the government immediately grant the claims for a 35-hour working week for miners and a 30-hour week for those employed in highly dangerous areas, or the strike would continue until victory was gained.

We do not know the next step of Industry and Technology Minister Krustyu Stanilov, or whether he, like other state leaders before him, will be obliged to yield to the pressure of the wave of strikes. However, if the "successful conclusion" of the strike is delayed even by a few more days, there is a danger of fires breaking out in the mines and even of it becoming impossible to enter them at all, which in effect will mean the end of the Bobov Dol Mining and Energy Complex. Who needs such a victory? Who will be the victor, and who the vanquished?

We also received further information about the development of the strike among other mining collectives. At the Elatsite Enterprise, about 50 drivers are on strike and holding up work. At the general meeting held on 5 March, the workers voted for them to be dismissed, but later realized themselves that this was hardly likely to be the most happy decision. The underground workers at the Chelopech Mine and the Balkan Mine near Sboge are also continuing their strike, so that, with the exception of the Bobov Dol Mining and Energy Complex, we may speak of a certain decline in the strike unrest in the country.

Some credit for this is probably due to the Government Commission on Job Regrading at Retirement, the strike committee and the trade union council at the Rare Metals Company, and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, which started joint actions to settle the miners' demands. The joint announcement that was adopted states:

"On 2 March 1990, a protocol of agreement was signed between Industry and Technology Minister Krustyu Stanilov on the one side, and the representatives of the strike committees and the trade union council of the Rare Metals Company, on the other. Also present at the signing were authorized labor collective representatives, the company management, and a representative of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and the federation. In execution of this same protocol, today, 5 March, the Government Commission on Job Regrading at Retirement, chaired by Georgi Nachev, chairman of the Committee for Labor and Social Security, began its work. The aforementioned company and the trade union representatives are also members of the commission. It was specified that the deadlines determined in the protocol of agreement will be observed."

There are clearly ways of averting the fatal victory toward which the Bobov Dol miners are heading. Their leaders only have to display more common sense and show that they are able to conduct a true trade union campaign, instead of quarrels about displays of force and dominance because if, may God forbid, a fire does break out in the mines, then the question of which trade union the miners belong to will no longer be of any significance.

Union Confederation, Podkrepa Reach Agreement

AU0803131290 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
7 Mar 90 p 1

[Unattributed report published jointly with the DEMOKRATSIYA newspaper: "The First Agreement Is Signed"]

[Excerpts] The contact group of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and the "Podkrepa" Independent Labor Federation held its third meeting. The meeting was prompted by the incorrect interpretation of the legal documents that certain labor collectives have been making recently, which has led to unneeded tension among groups of workers who are members of the two central trade union organizations.

The representatives of the two organizations in the contact group, placing protection of the workers' interests above political or private interests, reached a general agreement, under which the "SBKM" [expansion not known] fund is set up and used equally by all members of the labor collective. The fund covers canteens—subsidies for meals and managing expenses, construction of buildings for social and communal needs, money for physical education and cultural activities, hostels, loans for house building, and other purposes in the sense of Order No. 5 (see DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No. 82, 1989).

During the labor negotiations process, the agreement states, it is advisable to reach an agreement between the enterprise, on the one side, and the confederation and Podkrepa representatives on the other, on the way in which the "SBKM" fund is to be spent on the labor collective's needs. Membership of one or the other central trade union organization is no criterion for allocating this fund. The entire labor collective's perquisites should be fairly allocated among the collective's members and received by them. [passage omitted]

The centrally distributed warrants for holidays during 1990 in the holiday facilities handed over to the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria will be allocated within the workers collectives jointly by the confederation and Podkrepa representatives, in proportion to the numbers of their members in the particular collective. However, places in the official holiday homes are not subject to centralized allocation. However, the two trade union organizations will exercise control over the allocation of these places according to the principle described above. [passage omitted]

The agreement was signed on behalf of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria by Responsible Secretary Miladin Shatarov, and on behalf of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation by Federative Council member Dr. Krustyu Krustev.

Government, Unions Expect Agreement 'Next Week'

AU0803131890 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 7 Mar 90 pp 1,4

[Valentin Suykov report: "General Agreement Is on the Agenda"]

[Text] The general agreement is expected to be signed at the beginning of next week. This was the most important result of the trilateral talks held yesterday between the following: the government, represented by Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov and First Deputy Chairman Nora Ananieva; the employers' delegation, including Stoyan Druncharov, chairman of the National Alliance of Economic Managers in Bulgaria, his deputy Stoyan Kadiev, and Bozhidar Bozhinov, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry; and, on the third side, the delegation of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, consisting of confederation Chairman Krustyo Petkov, Deputy Chairman Svetoslav Stavrev, and Responsible Secretary Miladin Shatarov.

The talks showed that the first condition for this process to be concluded within one week is at hand, namely the goodwill expressed by the parties. Later on, it is up to the experts to clear away the barriers; they must eliminate the existing disagreements on individual points and prepare the final drafts of certain passages.

In his statement, Andrey Lukanov expressed the view that the general agreement should go beyond the bounds of a government settlement with the employers and workers on social issues. It should represent a comprehensive document for agreeing on the country's socioeconomic policy at the present stage, including the ways of implementing the anticrisis program and the overall economic reform, as well as of overcoming possible unfavorable consequences. In the prime minister's view, the mechanisms for settling contentious issues on a trilateral basis have to be further defined, both at the national and industrial sector levels and in the individual labor collectives. This would enable the general agreement to guarantee the conditions for social peace needed to surmount the crisis and to effect the changeover to a new economic system. It was suggested that the government's obligations should be formulated in accordance not only with the realities of the day, but also with the changes in management of the economy arising from the state being relieved of a number of its previous functions. This would mean that a considerable proportion of the previous commitments at the national level would be transferred to the territorial units. Andrey Lukanov concluded by stating that the economy's possibilities do not permit further injections of budget funds, but require ways to be found to progressively modify labor conditions, as well as compensating workers in relation to the development of inflation, unemployment, and so on.

In his reply, Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, expressed the trade unions' dissatisfaction with the delay so far in concluding the agreement, and insisted that it should be signed as soon as possible. He explained the reasons for the confederation's objections to linking the general agreement with the anticrisis program and the economic reform. Whereas the latter government measures are long term in character, the agreement will be of an interim nature. Toward the end of the year, the trade unions will prepare a draft for a new agreement, which may be broader in scope. However, in any event, the agreement will be social in its impact, and will not resemble a production plan. The delay in implementing the anticrisis measures should not be carried over to the agreement. Complete understanding was voiced for the view expressed by Krustyu Petkov that the speedy conclusion of the agreement is in the interest not only of the trade unions, but also of the other two parties and the people as a whole.

In line with international experience, the prepared document will be disclosed to other participants who may wish to sign it as well. The door is open for everyone who is ready to make a constructive contribution to shaping the new social policy. This is the answer in relation to Podkrepa's absence from the talks so far, and its possible future participation in reaching the public consensus that is so urgently necessary for solving the crisis.

Communication Workers Strike Questioned

AU0803150390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Mar 90 p 6

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO report: "Will the Communications Workers Go On Strike?"]

[Text] Can we imagine a possible communications workers strike? This means that all telegraph, telephone, and faxing communications would be interrupted, that radio and television would stop working, that communications between economic branches would break down, which would result in real chaos. In addition to this, the newspapers would remain undistributed.

Alarmed about such prospects and by the proposal of communication workers in Topolovgrad, who decided that they would no longer serve labor collectives that are on strike, the Committee on Information and Communications prepared a draft proposal expected to be published in the daily IMPULS and submitted to discussion. Approximately 50,000 workers from communication enterprises supported the proposal in question, which reads:

"We appeal to all people with common sense in our country, regardless of their profession and political convictions, categorically to renounce real strikes that are disastrous for our national economy."

Such is the situation: While some people are on strike, others assume the commitment not to go on strike in order to protect our country from being totally paralyzed. Someone may appropriately ask: Have the communication workers really no claims whatsoever? After years of silence we can only try to exercise self-control and our common sense.

Commission To Review Workers' Demands

AU0803205990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] We have received the following Council of Ministers announcement:

In connection with the 6 March meeting between Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov and strike committee representatives of the miners of the Miners Trade Union at the Independent Podkrepa Labor Federation, a commission chaired by the deputy chairman of the Committee on Labor and Social Security has been appointed. The commission has been instructed to review the issues related to the demands to decrease the number of work hours per week.

For this purpose, within 10 days the leaders of the companies and other economic organizations that demand the introduction of a decreased number of weekly work hours must present to the commission the results of the necessary measuring and analysis of professional illnesses, and the medical conclusions of specialized medical enterprises.

On the basis of this data and within 14 days after receiving the necessary information, the commission, with the participation of the representatives of the state and economic leaderships, scientific workers, specialists from the relevant medical enterprises, and labor collective representatives of all trade union organizations will submit to the Council of Ministers conclusions about the just character of the demands.

The successful completion of the commission's work depends solely on the timely presentation of the necessary information and explanations. The overwhelming portion of the companies and enterprises have begun conducting the necessary measurements.

The Council of Ministers chairman pointed out at the meeting that the strikes should be interrupted while the commission is investigating the issue. It must be pointed out, the announcement reads, that it is impossible to conduct the necessary observations and measurements of the labor environment by the competent organ because of the fact that the effective strike at the mines of the Bobov Dol Economic Power Supply Combine continues. This will prevent the rapid conclusion of the commission's work.

On 7 March, the Council of Ministers received the declaration of the Babino Mine strike committee in Bobov Dol about the hazards that could emerge in the mines as a result of the continuing strike. The Council of Ministers announcement points out that a real danger of collapses in the underground passages and fires caused by spontaneous combustion of coal layers and explosion of methane gas already exist.

The continuation of the strike could render entire mines and sections of the coal fields unfit for further use. As a result, several thousand miners could lose their jobs. A real danger exists of losing basic funds of hundreds of millions of leva, including mining equipment costing more than $20 million.

The announcement points out that it must be noted that no strike committee warnings or ultimatums addressed to the Council of Ministers could serve as justification for avoiding material and moral responsibility of the strike organizers for the possible consequences, on the basis of the country's laws.

The situation in the country, and the social tension that has emerged, require conducting a reasonable dialogue to justly resolve the labor conflict, while obligatorily observing the interests of workers in other mining industry plants, as well as enterprises in other economic spheres, the announcement reads in conclusion.

Miners Continue Strike for Shorter Workweek

AU0903091290 Sofia BTA in English 0825 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—As one possible result of the weeklong miners' strike in the Bobov Dol coalfield, entire work areas and pits may become inoperative as a result of the self-ignition of coal faces and methane explosions. Fixed assets worth millions of leva, including mining equipment valued at 20 million dollars, may well be lost because of the industrial action.

The strike was declared on March 1 by a decision of the miners trade union federation at the Podkrepa independent labour federation. The miners struck over the government's failure to meet the deadline for the fulfillment of a January 29, 1990 agreement on the miners grievances reached between Podkrepa and the former government minister Mr Mincho Yovchev. The agreement was confirmed by the incumbent minister of industry and technology Mr Krustyu Stanilov. The principal demand is a 35-hour workweek for subsurface mineworkers and a 30-hour workweek for those facing silicosis hazards, effective immediately.

On March 6 the prime minister Mr Andrey Lukanov conferred with representatives of the strike committee. They agreed that a commission should be formed to consider the documents handed by the companies concerned and to come up with its findings within fourteen days. The prime minister expressed the opinion that while discussions on the matter are in progress strike actions should stop.

Yesterday morning the central strike committee served Mr Lukanov with another declaration which stresses that the responsibility for the breach of the commitments assumed under the agreement between the government and the miners will rest entirely with the authorities.

UDF Appeals to Miners to Make Strike 'Symbolic'

AU0903104490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] Coordinating Council has issued an appeal to the striking miners in Bobov Dol to make their strike a symbolic one to avert the risk of underground fires breaking out and to prevent the destruction of the underground installations valued at hundreds of millions of leva.

At the same time, the declaration voices support for the miners' demands and condemns the position adopted by the government claiming that the initially signed protocol of agreement is not valid. The nonfulfillment of this protocol of agreement places in doubt the question of the public's confidence in any agreements signed, including those concluded at the roundtable, the declaration states.

Sofia Prisoners Present Demands, Stage Protest

AU0803210090 Sofia BTA in English 2023 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 8 (BTA)—A group of nine prisoners, including two in pre-trial detention, spent last night on the roof of Sofia Central Prison where they climbed after breaking a skylight.

They began their demonstration yesterday, demanding full amnesty, a review of their cases, better accommodation and working conditions and an interview with representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and of the mass media. They refused to meet representatives of the Prosecutor's Office and asserted that they did not seek to escape from prison.

One of the remand prisoners has a conviction for theft, and the rest have a record of several sentences each for serious premeditated crimes or for dangerous repeat offenses.

Today another five inmates joined the protesters on the rooftop. The prison administration tried in vain to persuade them to climb down and discuss the crisis.

Representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces came to the prison today. Several of the protesting prisoners left the roof and talked with Mr Georgi Spasov, spokesman of the SDS, and with Dr Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation. The inmates complained that among the fourteen there were people serving unjustifiably harsh sentences and remand prisoners who were still awaiting trial after a year and a half detention.

An agreement was reached on an end to the strike, and the prison administration guaranteed that the protesters will not be punished for this action.

RODOLYUBIE Editors Begin Hunger Strike

AU0803150990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Mar 90 p 2

[Rositsa Stancheva report: "Hunger Strike"]

[Text] RODOLYUBIE monthly magazine editorial board members and 23 of the employees from the Committee For Bulgarians Living Abroad who have been on strike for the last 36 days have announced a hunger strike.

The statement published by the strikers states as follows: With this extreme action, we resolutely oppose the well-known command-authoritarian methods of leadership exercised by Chairman Pavel Matev, against whom the collective pronounced its categorical nonconfidence vote, and we protest against the unwillingness of the relevant state institutions to respond to our request for his resignation.

Hunger Strike Ends

AU0803213890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] The Committee of Bulgarians Living Abroad and the RODOLYUBIE monthly magazine employees ended their strike, which began on 24 January and which became a hunger strike on 6 March. The strike ended in an agreement between the strike committee, the Confederation of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions, and the administrative leadership.

Pavel Matev, until now chairman of the committee, has been relieved of his post, because of his retirement. Academician Nikolay Todorov has been appointed interim chairman of the Committee of the Bulgarians Living Abroad.

Lilov Speech at Sofia BCP Meeting

AU0603113990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Mar 90 pp 1,2

[Speech by Aleksandur Lilov, Supreme Council chairman of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), at BCP meeting in Sofia's Vasil Levski Stadium on 1 March]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, I would like to express gratitude on behalf of the organizers of this meeting to all of you who responded to the invitation to attend.

The BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Supreme Council and the municipal party councils in Sofia decided to organize not a rally [miting], but a meeting. This was a **well- considered** decision. It was prompted by serious reasons related to the development of events in our country.

We would like political common sense and wisdom to prevail at our meeting, instead of publicly displayed political passions and exaltations.

With this meeting, we would like to address all party organizations and Communists, and all people in our country and to call their attention to problems that are of decisive importance for our country today. We would like to talk to them in words inspired by our sense of responsibility, words that do not declare slogans, but contain the truth about our present situation, the awareness that national interests should prevail over narrow-minded party interests, words expressing our concern about the danger that is threatening Bulgaria.

Our party sincerely wishes to tell the people the truth about our country's political situation.

We would like our speakers to speak honestly and with a sense of responsibility without deluding or manipulating the people, we would like them to help us with their experience, knowledge, and prestige, instead of sowing the seeds of destruction, hatred, and conflicts, we would like them to show us how to proceed further along the path of democracy in our country.

We would like our meeting to be an appeal for civil peace and stability in the country, because the only other alternative can be civil disasters. In the final account, it will be the ordinary people in our country—the men, women, and children of Bulgaria—that would have to pay a terrifying price for political insanity.

It is not important to count who gathers the largest number of people in the squares. This is not difficult either for the Union of Democratic Forces or the BCP to achieve. The most important question today is the one related to political responsiiblity. The question today is: Who will point out the correct path toward democracy, who will propose a way out of the crisis, who will help prevent the emerging dangerous situations and diasters.

Therefore, the first political assessment I would like to make is that the present situation can only be compared to a few similar situations in Bulgaria's post-liberation development. This applies not only to the fact that we are expecting free elections for a new National Assembly, but to the fact that we are facing a historical alternative, namely to the alternative of **which path we should proceed along in our progress toward the radical democratization of our society?**

The question is whether this should be a peaceful progress, free of violence, chaos, and bloodshed, or whether it should be a path of fanning hatred and controversy, a path of exacerbating hatred and aggressive clashes involving unpredictable consequences. **Which path shall we select—the Romanian, or the Hungarian one, the path of bloodshed, or the civilized one, the path of pogroms, or the path of reforms—this is the first and truly decisive question that is facing every party and every Bulgarian citizen today.** No one can escape answering this question.

The BCP answers this question with unmistakable determination: **We solely and exclusively support the peaceful transition to a democratic, socialist society.**

We say "NO" to violence and incitement to violence.

We say "NO" to the deterioration of political life, to the efforts of increasing social tensions, of inflaming and destabilizing the situation.

Our party considers it its national duty to **warn the people** that if the aforementioned trends should prevail in the still unstable democratic process existing in our country, these dangers are likely to get out of control and rapidly involve dramatic results.

I would once more like to point out: **Our party appeals for a peaceful development of the democratic process and will struggle for a transition to democracy under peaceful and stable conditions.** This is our understanding and our political line, this is our idea of national responsibility.

Having embarked upon and unrelentingly followed this line of policy since 10 November 1989, our party is by no means trying to shun its responsibility for shortcomings and abuses committed under the authoritarian regime. By no means are we trying to do so! Everyone knows that the party itself adopted the initiative for putting an end to this regime. The party severely assessed the causes and named those who were guilty for the abuses. On the basis of the law and in accordance with the requirements of a state governed by the rule of law, anyone who has committed a crime or has misused power will be held responsible before the law.

Therefore, we declare unequivocally: We should not suppress criticism against the abuses that were committed. We must sincerely and honestly talk to the people and describe the abuses in detail, we must expressly name those who are responsible without omitting either their first or their family names.

However, in honestly accepting this criticism and assuming responsibility for it, **we cannot accept that the**

party should be totally discredited, and that everything that has been achieved in contemporary Bulgaria should be denied. We reject the anticommunist hysteria that is now being fanned by certain political forces in our country. This phenomenon is dangerous and harmful for Bulgaria. It is by no means an indication of the democratic nature of these forces.

Our party was founded 100 years ago, and throughout its long years of existence it has acquired numerous moral and national values, it has earned great credit for which it can be justifiably proud. Some oppositional "hawks" are calling us "mafia" and "gangsters" today and are threatening us with 1 million unemployed; they are burning our newspapers; they are profaning places that are sacred for the party. This is truly regrettable political language and behavior.

The last 40 years were not only filled with shortcomings and abuses. Present-day Bulgaria is totally different from that backward and isolated country of the early postwar period. Despite the severe economic and ecological crisis that exists today, the people's efforts were able to build up our national economy throughout all those years, an economy that rescued the country from backwardness and represents a basis for future progress. Our towns and villages have radically changed for the better. Our science and cultural life have resolutely advanced. Medical care is free of charge, despite all the current shortcomings and problems affecting this system. The people's living standard has improved, unemployment and social insecurity have vanished. A nationwide pension system was introduced, a system that may be imperfect but still represents an important social asset. **Who and on what grounds can anyone denounce all this today?**

This is inadmissible because the efforts of entire generations have been invested in these achievements and our progress is impossible without all these assets. **The most correct method of implementing our new development is to proceed along the path of a fundamental economic reform, instead of insisting on total rejection.**

Last, but not least—the policy of total rejection and of discrediting the BCP is incompatible with democracy. There can be no question of democracy where tolerance in relations with partners and opponents does not exist, where there is no political culture, where a party does not see and admit anything beyond its own interests, or should we replace the former monopoly of power under totaliatarinism with a new form of totalitarianism?

Our party's slogan is not "Down with the UDF!", it is not "Down with the opposition!" Our slogan and our policy call for: **Dialogue with all political and social forces, including the opposition.** We will follow this policy also in the future. This is so because democracy in Bulgaria is impossible without political dialogue and pluralism.

Nevertheless, we will neither accept nor permit that the party and socialism as a whole should be insulted. We will struggle against this with all our efforts and with the strength of our convictions, with all the passion in our hearts.

The most important factor that I would like to stress in particular is the fact that **the BCP is still involved in a process of fundamental self-renewal and thorough change.** We must become a modern, Marxist party. A party with new goals, namely the goals of creating a democratic, socialist society. A party with new ideas, freed from the chains of dogmatism and Stalinism. We must promote a new policy of radical reforms and adopt new organizational principles and activities based on democracy. We need new cadres—competent, honest, educated people with authority, people who enjoy well-deserved prestige within the country and abroad. Our party must adopt a new image—purified, energetic, and emanating talent, culture, and confidence.

The process of renewal within our party is slow and difficult for the time being. Some comrades are aware of this and accuse the party of compromise, even of defeatism. It is not the right time to engage in disputes with these comrades today. It is, however, true that the party's political activities are not responding to the specific situation and to its dynamic force today. This situation should be comprehensively overcome. It is necesary to act with much more energetic efforts and with greater initiative exactly where it is necessary. We should put an end to passivity. I am appealing to all Communists, from all generations, and to every party organization: Let us stop pronouncing general statements and giving advice to other people, let us put an end to justifications and to playing safe. We need actions, we must implement the manifesto and the package of political initiatives recently adopted by the Supreme Party Council. Let us implement the congressional decisions and the election campaign platform that we are expected to adopt in the near future. We need energetic political activities among the people and specific political actions. This also applies to my own work, to that of my comrades from the BCP Supreme Council, it applies to all party members and their activities.

We have something to offer the people and the other political forces as well. Our package of political initiatives is quite solid. Let all political forces sign an official agreement for peaceful transition to democracy. Let us enhance the role and effectiveness of the roundtable. Let us guarantee truly free elections on the basis of our signatures and commitments. Let us join our efforts to rescue the country from the economic crisis. No unprejudiced person could say that these are unimportant, or destructive political initiatives.

Only our party is capable of implementing this specific and energetic political platform in the daily poltical struggle and under the conditions of political pluralism.

Those who call for offensive and aggressive actions against our party are greatly deluding themselves. We are not easily frightened. We have a specific program, and we are capable of defending it.

Comrades, on 1 March, according to an ancient tradition, everyone gives his friends a red and white insignia, symbol of spring and health.

Our party's message to every Communist and nonparty citizen, to our entire people, on this day of early spring is the word: Change!

We aspire for change!

We struggle for change!

We appeal to all of you to engage in this change!

Let us proceed along the peaceful path to democratic changes in our society!

Let us try to achieve positive changes in all spheres of our development!

Let us raise our heads—we are capable of changing as a party of democratic socialism in our own motherland.

Let us remember the lonely red poppies, dear comrades, and let us tighten our almost million-strong ranks today—we represent a tremendous force, which Bulgaria is going to need from now, and which shall serve Bulgaria also in the future! Thank you!

Lilov Visits Ruse Workers, Enterprises

AU0803200990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] On 8 March, Aleksandur Lilov, Presidium chairman of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Supreme Council, visited Ruse. He had many working meetings and talks with Ruse citizens.

At the (?Sadam) Company he greeted the female employees on International Women's Day and talked with them about certain crucial aspects of restructuring and the transition toward market economy.

Later on Aleksandur Lilov met with representatives of the Heavy Machine Building Company. The workers expressed their opinions about the BCP political course, aimed at democracy and reforms, and at constructive dialogue with other political forces, as well as about many vitally important problems of the country's socioeconomic and political development.

At the Party Club, the BCP Supreme Council Presidium chairman met with state government representatives, social figures, representatives of educational establishments and various political forces, and members of the Union of Democratic Forces. He spoke about the package of plans of the BCP Supreme Council; the roundtable's status and work; the BCP policy, aimed at advancing toward a democratic and law-governed society; [words indistinct]; and the forthcoming elections. [words indistinct]

Aleksandur Lilov also spoke about accelerating the pace of overcoming the grave heritage of the totalitarian regime.

He answered in detail the numerous questions of the representatives of the political forces in Ruse.

Zhivkov Denies Having Foreign Bank Accounts

AU0803135990 Sofia BTA in English 1324 GMT 8 Mar 90

["T. Zhivkov States He Has No Deposit Accounts Abroad"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 8 (BTA)—Todor Zhivkov categorically states that he has no deposit accounts abroad, announces Mr. Evtim Stoimenov, prosecutor general of Bulgaria, in an interview published in the latest SUVREMENEN POKAZATEL magazine.

Mr. Stoimenov tells about the course of the inquiry opened to investigate the incriminations of fanning up ethnic hatred, power abuse and misusing public means. According to the prosecutor general Todor Zhivkov is under medical observation and the state of his health allows to hold an intensive investigation. But Mr. Evtim Stoimenov does not even mention the approximate duration of the investigation, because "dozen or maybe hundreds of witnesses will have to be examined.

The investigation will not go back to many years ago, Stoimenov said. It is mainly orientated to throwing light upon the circumstances in which the "economic" decisions were made by Todor Zhivkov and his entourage that involved enormous expenses and inflicted great, even irreparable damages to the national economy.

Writers Union Confirms, Adopts New Statute

AU0803145190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Mar 90 p 3

[Text] A general meeting of the Bulgarian Writers' Union was held yesterday. It was devoted to the discussion and adoption of a new statute. The basic postulate of the draft statute proposed by a specially appointed commission, namely the preservation of the union's unity as an authoritative and strong creative-professional organization capable of defending the interests of Bulgarian literature as a whole, and the individual interests of all Bulgarian writers, was supported by the speakers who took the floor on the subject.

Union of Democratic Forces Member on Policies

AU0803151990 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 8 Mar 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Petur Beron, secretary of the Bulgarian Coordination Committee of the Union of Democratic Forces, by Sigrun Mueller-Gerbes; place and date not given]

[Text] Beron reports on the "delicate situation" in his country: "The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] still has a very strong position." Approximately 20 percent of the Bulgarian people are still party members today; authorities, media, and enterprises continue to be dominated by Communists.

Although he describes himself as an "optimist" and therefore expects the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], in which 13 oppositional groups form an election alliance, to stand "good chances" in the elections planned for June, he takes Communist competition seriously: By no means can a coalition with the BCP be ruled out.

Accordingly, the attacks on the Communists, which the zoologist formulates during his trip through Western Europe, are moderate: Although there are "several Stalinists who do anything possible to remain in power," many Communists are prepared to go into oppositon in case of an electoral defeat. Apparently, the oppositional politician is not very much interested in settling with communism on a large scale. "We Bulgarians want peace."

Beron admits that peace in the country is not only threatened by inflexible old Communists, but that ethnic conflicts between Bulgarians and the ethnic-Turkish Muslim minority also create tensions: "After all, we are not naive." "Under no circumstances" must the conflict escalate, "otherwise we would be confronted with a situation as in Yugoslavia's Kosovo."

However, he strives for appeasement. After all, the Bulgarians are traditionally "anti-nationalist people" and tensions between groups were "artificially produced" by decades of "Bulgarianization" under Zhivkov, on the one hand, and attacks by Turkish media on Bulgaria on the other hand. He does not think much of autonomy aspirations by Muslim population groups. "We all want to live together under the Bulgarian flag," Beron, who came to the opposition via his commitment in the ecological movment "Eco-Glasnost," says pathetically.

"Eco-Glasnost," the ecological movement that initiated the reformist process in Bulgaria, still plays an important role in the UDF today. "This will continue to be so if we want to survive in Bulgaria." The scientist, who is an executive of the National Natural Science Museum, gives priority to the country's ecological problems. The situation is more dramatic than elsewhere. In the middle of the country, near Kozloduy at the Danube, there is, for example, a nuclear power plant "that is far more unsafe than Chernobyl." Every year the reactors are shaken by earthquakes; the "environmental criminals" in Sofia did not install any safeguards against a catastrophe. In the whole region, which is otherwise fertile, the soil is poisoned by the copper industry, which lets its arsenic-infested wastewater flow directly into the rivers, he says.

However, the Coordination Committee secretary cannot predict whether, in view of Bulgaria's economic problems, it will be possible to implement the environmental policy in the alliance of parties as emphatically as necessary. After all, forces of different political directions, ranging from peasants' associations to trade unionists, human rights organizations, or the revived social democrats are united in it. Beron hopes that this alliance will last as long as possible, "but the real difficulties will only start after the elections."

Democratic Youth Congress Decisions Noted

AU0803160790 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH
in Bulgarian 6 Mar 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Decisions of the Extraordinary Congress of the Dimitrov Komsomol and the First Congress of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth"]

[Text] The Extraordinary Congress of the Dimitrov Komsomol decided as follows:

1. It adopts the report "On the State of the Organization," submitted to the congress;
2. Adopts the report of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Auditing Commission and the conclusions on the organization's financial situation;
3. Grants independence to the "Septemvriyche" Children's organization;
4. Adopts the Bulgarian Democratic Youth's program declaration;
5. Adopts the Bulgarian Democratic Youth's charter regulations;
6. Decides that the Dimitrov Komsomol Extraordinary Congress becomes the First Congress of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth;

The Dimitrov Komsomol Extraordinary Congress and the Bulgarian Democratic's Youth First Congress decided as follows:

7. It elects a Bulgarian Democratic Youth Presidium, composed of 101 members and a chairman;
8. Elects a Bulgarian Democratic Youth Control Commission, composed of 33 members and a chairman;
9. Declares NARODNA MLADEZH to be the Bulgarian Democratic Youth organ;
10. Instructs the Bulgarian Democratic Youth Presidium to introduce a proposal at the next congress on approving the status and the press organs of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth;
11. States that the congress must elect the chief editor of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth press organ;
12. Supports the proposal on declaring 3 March to be the national day of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Democratic Party Election Rally Noted

AU0803195190 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] On 8 March at Sofia's St. Aleksandur Nevski Square, several thousands people took part in a rally organized by the Democratic Party. Under the slogan "Democracy Today," the speakers announced that the party begins its election campaign. Party activists distributed leaflets with a brief platform of the party on the country's socioeconomic development.

The rally was chaired by Stefan Stoyanov, deputy chairman of the Democratic Party Central Operational Bureau.

In their statements, the speakers noted that for more than 100 years the Democratic Party has defended the principles of personal freedom, personal initiative, and personal property.

An appeal was addressed to the citizens to vote at the forthcoming elections for the bloc of the democratic forces, and more specifically, for the Democratic Party candidates.

The rally ended with a brief concert.

'Citizens' Accuse Authorities of Leniency

AU0803110790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Mar 90 p 1

["Open letter" from a "group of Sofia citizens" to the Sofia City People's Council, the Sofia Ministry of Internal Affairs Administration, and the Sofia Prosecutor's Office through Bulgarian Television, the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO, and the daily DEMOKRATSIYA; date not given: "Let Us Seek Responsibility"]

[Text] On 2 March 1990, the Federation of Independent Students' Associations organized a protest march and a rally. The organizers of these events did not respect the interdiction of the Sofia City People's Council, claiming that it is against fundamental human rights. In this manner they not only violated the recently adopted law on meetings, rallies, and demonstrations, but the basic human rights of thousands of citizens in our capital who were walking or driving in the streets and squares through which the students were marching.

We are also puzzled by the actions of the City Council and militia authorities. Instead of applying the measures prescribed by the law, they used mild exhortations and leaflets in trying to persuade people who refused to listen to them that their behavior was wrong. This method can only convince the organizers of this particular event and of future demonstrations that they are unpunishable. It turns out that applications to the authorities for permission to organize such events are virtually unnecessary.

In order to prevent certain groups and individuals from considering themselves immune from punishment, we insist on the following requests:

1. The competent organs should hold responsible the march and rally organizers who have violated the law.

2. Officials who have tolerated breaches of law and the emergence of chaotic conditions in the capital should be strictly disciplined.

We would like to remind everyone that democracy is impossible without observing the law. Whoever is incapable of fulfilling his duties should resign.

If the Sofia City Council, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Sofia City Prosecutor's Office fail to take urgent action to investigate the case and punish those who are guilty, we intend to organize our own protest marches and rallies in the places of our choice, without asking anyone's permission, considering that such requests are evidently irrelevant, under the slogan: "Taxpayers for Law and Order."

Signed by Stanimir Tsonev, on behalf of a group of citizens, followed by 19 signatures.

Data on Unemployment Released

AU0703093290 Sofia BTA in English 0813 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—By the end of February the labor desks in the country had registered about 1500 unemployed workers and specialists. Immediately after their registration 479 of them were assigned to suitable jobs and about 70 were enrolled in requalification courses. There are about 68,000 vacancies in the country. These data have been announced by Mr Dimitur Angelov, head of the Labor Resources Department at the Committee For Labor and Social Insurance. 120 Labor desks have been set up and now operate in the country.

At the beginning of December last year the Council of Ministers passed a decree on the requalification and efficient use of the redundant labor force which entered into force at the beginning of 1990. The decree makes provisions for the establishment of a state system which will organize the assignment of suitable jobs of those who become redundant after closing some enterprises and companies or cutting down the staff. The labor desks will provide information about vacancies and jobs. A fund has also been set up to pay redundancy pays and doles to the unemployed.

According to Mr Metodi Angelov, manager of the Labor Desk in Blagoevgrad, specialists will find the labor force market will be the most difficult to tackle. There are vacancies at enterprises and companies in the municipality, but mainly workers without special training are needed. The desk in Blagoevgrad has listed 183 people; about 70 people per day visit the desk. Only nine of them became redundant, the other 174 were "unemployed" before the Council of Ministers adopted the decree. According to Metodi Angelov by the end of the first half-year period the unemployed in Blagoevgrad are expected to be 500. The cause is that many of the enterprises work at a reduced production capacity.

Army Journalist Criticizes UDF News Conference

AU0703111090 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by Captain Spirdon Spirdonov: "Heated Answers and an Attempt To Delude Regarding the Depolitization of the Bulgarian People's Army"]

[Text] At the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] news conference, there were some answers concerning which UDF Coordinating Council members were not of the same opinion, made supplementary remarks, or issued denials. One such example was Georgi Spasov's claim that the UDF knew nothing of the decision not to submit the draft laws disputed by the opposition for examination at the forthcoming National Assembly session. Subsequently (but not immediately) it turned out that this was not true. There was a danger of the news conference turning into a rally. Mikhail Mikhaylov, Sofia leadership representative of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], found it necessary to deliver a quite lengthy speech about his party's past and future, in order to state that the Nikola Petkov BZNS was and remains loyal to the UDF platform. The unjustified insult was leveled against the government that it was a handful of conspirators whose aim was little less than to ensure that the population starved for as long as possible. It was unequivocally declared that the events around the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum were a carnival escapade, an immature expression of joyful feelings. The UDF insists that the five-pointed stars be removed from the military uniforms.

Regarding the elections, Zhelyu Zhelev, UDF Coordinating Council chairman, expressed readiness for them to be held in June, but for a constituent Great National Assembly, while new elections for an ordinary National Assembly should be held around November.

The Bulgarian People's Army [BPA] did not remain unscathed either. Dr. Petur Dertliyev, "Podkrepa" Independent Labor Federation chairman, stressed that the Bulgarian Army has always been a defender of the homeland, and that no one is against it. He expressed the viewpoint that the soldiers should vote outside their units. In the answer to the question of the depolitization of the Army, Georgi Spasov intervened and made accusations in relation to State Council Decree No. 126. In view of the fact that he wanted the journalists to pay particular attention to his claims, we approached Lieutenant General Minchev, Ministry of National Defense spokesman, who made available to us the following announcement (which was also distributed by BTA):

Announcement of the Ministry of National Defense

"At the news conference held on 2 March 1990 by the UDF leadership for journalists from the mass media, Mr. Georgi Spasov stated that there were many tips and letters concerning the mass compulsory admission of students of the military schools and soldiers of the BPA as members of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

"The leadership of the Ministry of National Defense declares that after the issue of State Council Decree No. 126 of 15 February 1990 the activity of the political organs and party organizations in the BPA was completely stopped. Accordingly, this admission of students in the system of the BPA is absolutely impossible. The BPA contains no organs or organizations that can carry out this admission.

"Even more unlikely is the claim concerning the mass admission of soldiers, because they cannot even be members of the party organizations in the centers of population where their units are deployed.

"If Mr. Spasov really has such letters in his possession, let him present them to the Ministry of National Defense or to the NARODNA ARMIYA newspaper in order to permit the necessary examination to be completed, the results of which will be notified to the public. Otherwise, the announcement of Mr. Spasov may be regarded as disinformation."

Defense Ministry Clarifies Conscription Problem

AU1902215190 Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 19 (BTA)—Certain mass media have recently raised the question of reducing the term of conscription in Bulgaria and of discharging from the Army the second-year conscripts who have been admitted to higher educational establishments. A statement of the Ministry of National Defense has been released for publication in this connection here.

The conscription term is a rather complicated matter regulated by special statute.

When a country borders immediately on states which belong to another politico-military alliance and maintain large groups of troops in constant readiness close to its borders, the peacetime strength of that country's army should guarantee the possibility to resist a surprise attack from those states, i.e. it should be at the level of a sufficiency required for defense.

As a result of the steadily declining birth rates since the 1960s, the conscripts pool in Bulgaria tends to shrink substantially, too. In 1989 the strength of the Bulgarian People's Army was reduced by 10,000 men. The conscripts pool available barely covers the recruitment of conscript personnel. Things were further complicated when the State Council issued a decree in 1989, reducing the conscription term from two to one year for young people admitted to higher educational establishments.

If the general conscription term in this country is reduced to 18 months, the strength of active-service personnel should be increased by 10,000 men in order to maintain the effectives [as received] of the Bulgarian People's Army at the required sufficiency level. This will add at least 48 million leva to the annual upkeep of the Army, which is a very considerable sum for Bulgarian standards now.

Only few young Bulgarian go into active army service. A number of NCO positions in the Army had therefore to be feminized but still, part of them remain vacant. This is why the required strength of the Army can no longer be secured in this way.

The Ministry of National Defense says in its statement that in view of the current correlation of forces in the Balkans, this country's security will suffer severely if the personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army is further reduced at this stage.

Only provided the Vienna negotiations on conventional forces in Europe are completed successfully and only provided this leads to a tangible reduction in the armed forces personnel of the NATO states neighboring on Bulgaria, conditions will be created to reduce the strength of the Bulgarian People's Army and to cut the term of conscription.

The statement emphasizes that the questions concerning the conscription terms and the pre-term discharge of would-be university students are much more intricate than it seems. A solution to these questions is directly linked with safeguarding the country's security. This solution cannot depend on the desires and sentiments of individual people and groups or on the good will of the government and the management of the Ministry of National Defense and should not become a subject of political speculation, the Ministry of National Defense says in its statement.

National-Radical Party Rally Noted

AU0703075290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Mar 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Half of the Participants Went Home"]

[Text] Half of the few hundred people who attended a rally organized by the Bulgarian National-Radical Party left early, so that only a few remained until the end. Leaders and members of the party spoke from the rostrum at Aleksandur Nevski Square. They spoke about Bulgaria's glorious past and about the damages inflicted upon the country by the totalitarian system and by the policy of Zhivkovism. Other culprits responsible for our national problems were also named and other rescuers (besides the Bulgarian National-Radical Party) were also mentioned.

"The dirty West used to support Turkey also in the past, but we are not alone, we have our protectors," Konstantin Poptodorov, Bulgarian National-Radical Party coordinator, stated.

From the speeches, it became evident that the Bulgarian National-Radical Party distances itself both from the Bulgarian Communist Party and from the Union of Democratic Forces on the nationality issue. No proposals on specific actions likely to alleviate national tensions in our country were made at the rally. Only the demands voiced in the resolution were specific. The resolution urged the government to offer hospitality to all Bulgarians living abroad, to develop economic and cultural relations with the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and to declare 6 September—the anniversary of Bulgaria's unification—as an official holiday.

Damage of Environmental Pollution Viewed

AU1902120190 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 16 Feb pp 8,9

[Lyudmil Paunovski article: "The Truth"]

[Text] While for a long time the people were not told that our country was experiencing an especially strong ecological crisis, the truth was well known by the country's top leaders. A special report was prepared in the fall of 1987 by the Information-Sociology Center and the "Agricultural" Department of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, and printed in a few copies only. It contained all the horrible and specific details about the pollution! We gradually learned those details, however, and some parts of the report must be mentioned.

According to an assessment by specialists, about two-thirds of our population suffers from the unfavorable influence of the polluted environment, while 35 percent of the population is subjected to the danger of extraordinary pollution that could affect their health. Observations by certain specific groups of the population in the polluted areas have shown that general sicknesses have significantly increased. In addition, it has been established that the defense-adapting antipollution mechanisms have been overstrained, and that important biochemical systems have been damaged. It has been established that sicknesses related to the respiratory cardiovascular systems, the digestion organs, the nerves, the eyes, the kidneys, and the skin are most frequent. Allergic disturbances, anemia, impotence, and general weakness have greatly increased. Comparison with relatively unpolluted settlements shows that the sickness rate has increased several times, occasionally even 20 times. According to the information provided by responsible health workers, the deteriorating ecological situation is one of the most important causes of the social-character sicknesses in our country, which for their part are the reason for 50 percent of the lost workdays and 80 percent of the causes of death.

The health of children and young people is most alarming. Their immunity system is greatly affected, and their susceptibility to infections and allergic reactions has increased. Observations of children ages 1.6 to 14 years show a high degree of children's sicknesses, distortions of the physiological indices, and a delay in the physical and mental development. The percentage of stillborn children has increased, while various physical deformations and genetic disturbances have become more frequent. The issue of our nation's future causes special alarm against the background of the great genetic risk and the genotoxity that cause damage to the present generation.

The political consequences of the deteriorating ecological situation are extremely unfavorable. This involves first of all the dissatisfaction of the population with the fact that such a situation has been allowed to develop and at the inefficient antipollution measures that have been adopted. This dissatisfaction is strengthened by the comparison with other countries that have had problems with environmental pollution in the past, but have achieved very good results thanks to the measures that have been adopted.

The entire picture revealed by the analysis of the environment in our country is alarming: The pollution and degradation of the environment have assumed great proportions, and in addition, the tendency of the future developments is unfavorable. The implementation of measures in the sphere of environmental protection and the means allocated for this purpose are extremely insufficient. The existing systems and mechanisms of regulating the processes do not contribute to resolving the ecological problems. The deteriorating ecological situation inflicts a great and multiplying damage to our country. Everything else pales against the background of the damage to the present generation and the burden that will be inherited by the future generations, if a change in the critical situation that exists does not take place.

Shall we pale or blush? Who is responsible? the citizens of Razlog and Dimitrovgrad, or those who caused this situation?

Independent Human Rights Association Conference

AU1902105790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] On 18 February in Sofia, a conference of the Independent Association on Defense of Human Rights took place. Delegates from throughout the country took part. Rumen Vodenicharov, chairman of the association, read a report. He pointed out that this is the first meeting to take place without fear of repressions and that the association is not a political organization. However, in the struggle for democracy, it could support a political party at the forthcoming elections.

Rumen Vodenicharov appealed for unity in the name of democracy.

'Alternative Democratic Way' Club Forms

AU2302133490 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] Ruse, 15 February (RABOTNICHESKO DELO municipal correspondent)—A club under the name "Alternative Democratic Way" has been formed in Ruse. The club assumes the functions of the basic party organization in the municipality. The club may be joined by all Communists and non-members of parties with similar ideas who support the radical renewal of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and society. The main premises in the BCP Manifesto, the BCP Statute, and the platforms of the radical ideological tendencies and associations within the BCP form the combining link.

The aim of the newly established club is to consolidate the forces of all the Communists in Ruse who stand for the renewal of the municipal party organization and the entire party.

The members of the club are actively working to organize and conduct the election campaign be means of a broad, constructive dialogue with all the sociopolitical forces in the municipality, and also insist that the selection of the BCP candidates should be made after an in-depth discussion within the party at all levels.

Turks Demonstrate for Names' Restoration

AU0703141290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Mar 90 p 1

[Zina Sokolova and Katya Karagyaurova report: "The Final Decision Was Awaited With Standing Ovation"]

[Text] "We want our original names restored!" "Give a chance to peace, to a united Bulgaria!" "Restore our names so that we may go back to our herds and fields!" These were some of the slogans under that several thousand people, freezing with cold, patiently waited in the icy wind in front of the National Assembly.

Nearly three hours before the National Assembly Session opened, Andrey Lukanov addressed the crowd, explaining that their demands weould be accepted and dealt with in the Names Act and urged them to go home, but they stayed on. This is what some of them told us:

"We were here also on 29 December 1989, but nothing has changed since. We are here, all of us, and everyone from Sveta Petka Village, except the children and the very old people, is attending. The children are minding the cattle in the meantime, the enterprises have stopped working. The state is losing tons of milk and we are all suffering losses...."

All inhabitants of Yakoruda, of Luzhnitsa village, Blagoevgrad Oblast, people from the Gotse Delchev, Razgrad, and Shumen areas are here. Despite the appeals addressed to them by the leaders of the Committee For the Defense of National Interests, the Rodolyubie Rhodope Union, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, and the National Reconciliation Committee, they came to see with their own eyes that they would not be deluded.

We were amazed by the silence of the crowd. The order was maintained by militia men and by the rally organizers. People patiently waited to hear the final decision. Observers and journalists coming out of the National Assembly building informed them about the current proceedings. Professor Chavdar Kyuranov, Supreme Party Council member, came out at about 1800 local time. He was immediately surrounded by a group of people, but his announcement that the law was unanimously adopted at the first reading did not satisfy them. He understood the people's wish to learn more details, and called Andrey Lukanov. The premier informed them that a second reading is required according to procudure. However, considering that the act was unanimously adopted at the first reading, no amendments whatsoever were expected.

This announcement was welcomed with cheers, such as "Bravo!" and "Unity!" However, not all people seemed to have understood, because some of them shouted: "The text, the text!" They wanted to hear the text, at once. The explanation that it would be soon published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK did not help.

Khasan Belkov's exhortations, urging people to go home were also in vain. Only a few of the participants left. It is difficult to dissipate a distrust that has been accumulating for so long.

Muslims Continue Journeys to, From Turkey

AU0803183790 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
8 Mar 90 p 7 p 4

[Text] Kapitan Andreevo Border Crossing Post, 6 March (TRUD correspondent Kiril Stoychev)—It is peaceful these days at the Bulgarian-Turkish border, but the flow of humanity through the border checkpoint is not drying up in either direction. Entire families are returning from Turkey, and the explanation is always the same: We found no work or accommodation; we could not settle down properly. These in essence were the answers given recently by stonemason Doncho Stoyanov from the Kurdzhali village of General Geshevo and foundryman Ivan Simeonov from Razgrad district, who added with sighs that the "pleasure trip" cost them 8,000 to 9,000 leva apiece.

"Won't you set off again, when the weather is warmer?" I asked Doncho Stoyanov.

"Nothing can lure me through this barrier again. I had a tough time," he replied.

The officials at the border post calculated that so far 84,789 people have returned to Bulgaria through Kapitan Andreevo in 7,600 vehicles.

Some are returning poorly clothed, hungry, and weakened, while others are departing, loaded with as much baggage as possible. Since the start of this year 6,416 people have left for Turkey in 455 motor vehicles.

"I am leaving with my family on a 20-day 'excursion,'" I was assured by Alip Alipiev from Novo Selo, Shumen district, but his Moskvich car, incredibly overloaded and carrying about 300 kg of luggage on its roof, did not bear out his claim that he was making a short trip.

Turkish Envoy Hears 'Concern' Over 'Incidents'

AU0803192190 Sofia BTA in English
1840 GMT 8 Mar 90

["Incidents Are Undesirable"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 8 (BTA)—A representative of the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Sofia was summoned today to the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to hear a concern expressed over Turkish fishing boats trespassing upon Bulgarian territorial waters on February 26 and March 4. The Turkish representative was told that such incidents are undesirable, especially on the eve of the forthcoming Bulgaro-Turkish talks.

Representative Speaks at Geneva Conference

AU0803212090 Sofia BTA in English
2026 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Geneva, March 8 (BTA)—Addressing the conference on disarmament, the chief Bulgarian delegate Mr Dimitur Kostov described the current stage of international relations as "post-confrontation".

He spoke in support of wide-ranging cooperation among all European countries in all spheres and declared himself in favor of the conclusion of an agreement between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO on arms reduction in Europe. At the same time, Mr Kostov stressed that it is inadmissible to maintain and aggravate the military asymmetries in the southern part of the continent.

The head of the Bulgarian delegation spoke in favor of an early conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons. He suggested some regional measures which would contribute to the speedy entry into force of such international agreement. Mr Dimitur Kostov discussed Bulgaria's stand on other matters on the agenda of the conference on disarmament; nuclear disarmament, the prevention of nuclear war, a nuclear test ban and security guarantees of the nuclear-weapon states.

Rights Group Denies Radio Free Europe's Claims

AU0803125790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 6 Mar 90 p 6

[BTA report: "Shady Ambitions for Political Leadership"]

[Text] In connection with Father Ambarev's statement broadcast on 2 March 1990 by Radio Free Europe [RFE] and submitted on behalf of the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Bulgaria, the association's Administrative Council has adopted a declaration. The declaration states that the association's national conference and the decisions it adopted cannot be surprising for anyone because the idea of holding the conference dates back to the summer of 1989. The false claims accusing the conference of intolerance are in contradiction with the fact that Mr. Ilya Minev and his supporters were provided with delegates' cards and unlimited time was granted to them for their statements. Such an opportunity was also given to Father Ambarev. The fact that the aforementioned individuals left the conference as a sign of disagreement with the critical remarks addressed to them should not only be considered disgraceful, but totally disruptive of the quorum of the conference.

The conference adopted the association statute that included clauses guaranteeing its independence from political parties. As a sign of disagreement with the unanimous opinion of the delegates, some of those who were proposed as administrastive council members refused to accept. This fact, however, does not entitle them to question the national conference's legitimate status.

The declaration further states that the present political situation in Bulgaria requires an exceptional sense of civic responsibility. Father Ambarev's statement, which was signed by some former association leaders and members and was broadcaast by RFE, is in total contradiction with this responsibility and only expresses personal, shady ambitions aspiring for political leadership.

The majority of the individuals who signed the declaration (such as Yanko Yankov, Plamen Darakchiev, and Dr. Konstantin Trenchev) did not attend the conference at all, while others because of their lack of activity over the recent months are unknown to the adminstrative council. It is strange that Mrs. Rut Levi, who was conference co-chairman throughout and announced the names of the candidates for the new leadership, was also among the signatories.

The declaration of the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights closes by pointing out that the national conference held on 17 February 1990 was absolutely legitimate and that the association would like to distance itself from all forms of partisanship under the present conditions of political life in our country.

Federal Government Approves State Budget

LD0803200690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] The federal government today aproved the state budget with very minor changes. It is a most important document which will specifically affect the way the economy functions. Here are more details from correspondent Jana Havligerova:

[Havligerova] Debates on the state budget have been going on at various levels for a long time, with rumors that there would be cuts for agriucltural enterprises and culture, and that the spending cuts would be drastic. In short, there was no end to the speculation. In fact, today's budget confirms one thing, which is what Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus has been saying all along, namely that the new state budget aims both to prevent inflation and also to begin to transform our economy into a market one by gradually doing away with subsidies. Let us hear, however, what the finance minister himself had to say:

[Begin Klaus recording] We have managed—and I hope that the deputies will also accept it—to transform the budget which was originally drawn up and approved by the previous government from a deficit to a surplus. This overall U-turn, perhaps that is just the right word, or turning-back of the financial flow, financial currents, amounts in total to 15 billion korunas. That is one aspect, the antiinflationary impact of the budget, and here it is not so much a matter of where these changes or switches have been made; the main thing is the aggregate effect, so we are putting less money into the economy.

The question of where the money is going is another question altogether. The other aspect of this budget is that it seeks to make a clear contribution toward transforming the economy—now an economy based on redistribution, on nonequivalent [neekvivalentni] relations, on unclear responsibility in terms of who is responsible for what, who is to blame for what, who caused this or that to happen—transforming our economy into one which clearly defines the relations of ownership and the responsiblity of different bodies, one which makes price components clear, one which makes it clear what is going where, from whom to whom, and so forth, and the state budget seeks to make the first steps in this endeavor. [end recording]

[Havligerova] Here are a few specific details by way of information: The total amount of budgetary spending is being cut by almost 13 billion korunas. The main cuts are in defense, security, public organizations, and administration. The allocation of funds to the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] is being stoped altogether; this previously amounted to 1 billion korunas. Another source of savings is cuts in subsidies for ore extraction and dressing, and so forth. There are cuts, in essence, across the board of budgetary spending except for health care, education, and social security. On the contrary, in comparison with last year, spending on these sectors will grow by seven percent on average.

However, the news conference dealt not only with the state budget, because we also heard an important piece of information about the office for the provisional administration of state property and its privatization. This office will be attached to the ministry of finance, and Dusan Krizka, one of the minister's advisers, was put in charge of it. By the end of March of this year, the office will define the basic concept for property relations, and the conditions for privatization in the economy.

More on Budget Approval

LD0803225490 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer, in Slovak] Members of the federal government held a session in Prague today. The only point on the agenda was the debate on the draft state budget of the federation and a review of Czechoslovakia's state budget for this year. By endorsing this document a significant step was made in implementing economic reform and in switching to a market economy.

[Unidentified correspondent, in Czech] The draft amends budgetary management after the end of a provisional arrangement adopted for the first quarter. The fundamental change is that the deficit budget will be replaced with a surplus one. The deficit amounting to 10 billion korunas will be turned into a surplus of 5 billion.

All members of the government agreed with this cardinal change in budgetary policy and in particular they praised the antiinflationary nature of the draft. Budgetary spending will drop by 12.9 billion korunas. These are mainly funds for defense, security, the National Front, public organizations, and administration. The allocation of funds from the budget for the Czechoslovak Communist Party is being stopped altogether. By the way, it originally amounted to over 1 billion korunas. Another source of savings is a cut in subsidies, in particular for agricultural enterprises, for ore extraction and dressing, and for some capital investment subsidies.

The spending cuts have affected almost the entire structure with the exception of social consumption of the population. State budget expenditures, above all on health care, education, and social security, will grow by seven percent in comparison with the preceding year.

CSSR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus then noted in the afternoon press conference that the draft budget was, in essence, approved by the government. Thus the state budget is the most important document of the government's economic policy.

A special IMF commission has been working in the Federal Finance Ministry since Tuesday. We asked what, specifically, its task is and what we can expect from the outcome of its work.

[Begin Klaus recording] The IMF is checking those who are acceptable for its membership. The attempt to accept us as a member in September this year at the annual regular IMF and World Bank session in Washington represents the interest of the IMF and an expression of the enormous confidence in Czechoslovakia and its economic policy. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The problem of future privatization is yet another very delicate and sensitive issue.

[Begin Klaus recording] A considerable part of the Czechoslovak economy will undoubtedly remain a form of state ownership in the future. Nobody intends to privatize railways, water management, and so on tomorrow. On the other side of this spectrum are small enterprises, communal ones, and so on. In this respect, we think that their privatization could come about very quickly. And what remains is the middle group, which has by far been the most typical core of Czechoslovak industry. Privatization will be implemented by turning them into joint stock companies. A system of administrative boards, which will have to start to function in a very short period, will be set up. These boards in some cases will then provide for the transfer of the joint-stock form of ownership into private ownership, either into our own or perhaps even into a foreign private ownership, and so on. [end recording]

Calfa Interviewed on Exchange Rate Problem

LD0903040390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Interview with Federal Premier Marian Calfa by correspondent A. Bielikova, followed by interview with Kamil Prochazka, press representative of the coordination center of the Public Against Violence, by unidentified correspondent; both interviews are held in Bratislava on 8 March—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bielikova] The plane carrying Federal Premier Marian Calfa landed at Bratislava airport shortly after 1500. He was accompanied by First Deputy Chairman of the Federal Government Jan Carnogursky, and Slovak Premier Milan Cic. Afterwards a convoy of cars moved to Petrzalka-Berg to the customs office. The premier was very interested in everything happening there. Milan Jasenovec, head of the customs office, was accompanying him. [passage omitted]

It is very difficult to scramble through a crowd of journalists, but I shall try to do it, after all. Mr. Premier, I know that you did not come here by chance. Above all, what is involved are measures to solve our market situation.

[Calfa] We have many signals, citizens wrote to us—and not only us—naturally, in connection with what is happening regarding opening the frontiers. We also got many messages regarding the exchange rate. However, citizens do not realize one thing: namely that the rate has not been established by the government, that the government, in essence, approved the rate which had previously been created in our country by supply and demand. That is, that we in fact reacted to what had been created between our citizens, as far as the rate is concerned.

[Bielikova] Is this the only solution?

[Calfa] Well, the only one in this period. Truly, we cannot react in any other way than by introducing very strong limitations on exports of goods, above all, food, petrol, and some kinds of industrial goods, especially building materials. Naturally, this is not an ideal solution. The ideal solution would be to make economic adjustments in a certain way. This means to balance prices, to balance mutual rates—this is a long-term affair. Only for the sake of information I should like to say that if we would like to balance prices in relation to rates, let us say in comparison with Austria, one would say that one kilogram of beef [?should be] sold for 140 korunas. This is simply an operation which we cannot perform at this time, although we are preparing for some gradual steps in this direction.

[Unidentified correspondent] After that, the procession left for the border crossing at Rajka and, at 1700, Premier Marian Calfa should have been meeting journalists at Mozart's house on Jiraskova Street where editor Dalibor Klima is present:

[Klima] At 1712 a small convoy of cars stopped in front of the Mozart house. Premier Mr. Marian Calfa, Dr. Jan Carnogursky, First Deputy Federal Premier, and others then went to the offices of the secretariat of the Coordinating Committee of Public Against Violence. Talks opened behind closed doors. The originally scheduled press conference was also postponed. What is being talked about behind closed doors? Mr. Kamil Prochazka, press representative of the coordination center of Public Against Violence, talked about it:

[Prochazka] The negotiations are continuing even at this moment on a friendly informal basis. The fact that the press briefing did not take place, and that the talks are going on, as you have said, behind closed doors, should not be taken to mean that the subjects being discussed are secret, but rather it is the result of Premier Calfa's wish to meet the Coordinating Committee of Public Against Violence on a friendly and informal basis. I can inform you that the meeting, apart from the abovementioned, was also attended by Mr. Stracar, federal minister of metallurgy, engineering and electrical engineering, Dr. Boehm, the prosecutor-general of the Czechoslovak Republic, and Mr. Hofbauer, Bratislava mayor.

The themes, which might interest the public, being discussed here were, naturally, some questions of frontiers as I have heard mentioned in your monitoring. But the focal point of the talks also concerned the internal situation, internal political affairs, questions of enterprises, questions of shortages of regulations for personnel exchanges in enterprises, and discussion of the situation for the immediate future. Naturally, what was involved were also connected questions, questions of new trade unions, questions of relations between civic initiatives and trade unions.

[Correspondent] Did you arrive at any conclusions?

[Prochazka] There were not conclusions, there was clarification of views and mutual assessment of the situation. We also want to add that the talks were extended—probably informally—because at 1800, when it should have finished, it is continuing. This confirms the point about the friendly informal atmosphere which reigns here.

[Announcer] I thank Mr. Prochazka; I am handing this over to the studio.

Increased Tourism Jeopardizes Supply Levels

AU0503103190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
1 Mar 90 p 3

[Peter Ondera commentary: "The Shadows of Tourism"]

[Excerpts] The third consecutive year of growth in active tourism creates problems in supplies. After a Hungarian and Polish wave, last year saw a significant increase in shopping sprees by Soviet buyers, and this year the interest of Austrians and Yugoslavs has reached a peak. We must admit that our retailing is not in a position to cope with such an onslaught. In January all the main trade networks registered a 6.5-percent increase in retail trade turnover compared with January 1989. State retailers even recorded a 7.5-percent increase. The bulk buying of food is particularly palpable. Slovak outlets of the "Zdroj" chain report a 7.8-percent increase in turnover for January. Purchases of meat and meat products in Bratislava alone were 18.1 percent higher [than in January 1989], which represents an increase of 361 tonnes. The data on gasoline sales is outright shocking . The sale of the "Special" brand increased 9.1 percent in January and the sale of the "Super" brand as much as 33.7 percent. In Bratislava, 51.8 percent more "Super" gasoline went through gas stations than last January. [passage omitted]

Customs officials cannot cope with the onslaught either; after all, there has been a fivefold increase in tourist traffic in January 1990, compared with the same period last year.

Most of the trouble, so it seems, has been caused by Decree No. 4/1990 of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, which came into force on 8 January 1990 and which permits "hard currency" tourists to take out of the country without limitations anything they please, provided they exchanged their korunas properly in one of our banks. [passage omitted]

The CSSR Government will have to reconsider the justification of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade decree, in view of the fact that the rise in the inflow of Austrian schillings, for example, is in no way proportional to the increase in the retail trade turnover. [passage omitted]

It is obvious that any proposed measures [to combat bulk buying by foreign tourists] will inevitably be an evil rather than a solution, because they will not eliminate the causes but the consequences of the complicated exchange rate ratios. However, at the present time, it would be irresponsible to continue to toy with the already shaken confidence of our citizens in the stability of the domestic market.

Barcak, Komarek Comment on Foreign Trade

AU0603124390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
2 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Nada Adamickova, Marie Koenigova report: "The 24th Meeting of the Federal Assembly Ended"]

[Excerpt] Prague—(from our correspondents) [passage omitted] At the 28 February night meeting of the 24th Federal Assembly session, members of the federal government answered some questions asked by deputies. Today we are returning to one of those questions in greater detail.

A. Barcak, foreign trade minister, spoke on measures to prevent the buy out of our market by foreigners.

The ban on and limitation of export of goods is one of them, he said. It will be absolutely prohibited to export food, alcohol, and a number of other things. A second list would comprise goods which can be exported only after the payment of an administrative fee. Based on an agreement with the Ministry of Finance, this fee will be triple the price of the article in question. Provisions concerning sales of fuel to citizens of nonsocialist countries, similar to those already applied toward citizens of Hungary (even if these provisions have not been too efficient), are under preparation. An increase in the number of customs officers by 400 has been approved. Another increase by 200 is under discussion, A. Barcak said.

National Committees also have authority—they can issue regulations in accordance with valid laws to limit the excessive buy out of some kinds of goods. Another proposal will be drawn up—concerning the export customs duty. Discussions have also been held regarding a private exchange service or a development of some services at the border crossings. We should manage to apply those limitations to stop any further buy out by 15 March.

First Deputy Premier V. Komarek, too, spoke about this subject, even if from a rather different point of view. We know that the exchange rate of the schilling to our koruna is about six to ten times more advantageous in case of food and a number of other goods, he said. This does not prevent some radicals from saying that we should raise the food prices six or ten times while increasing the wages, also six to ten times, and Austrians will stop buying. It is interesting that they do not want to understand that the exchange rate would then be not 40 korunas to a dollar, but possibly 240 korunas, and that nobody has as yet managed to solve the real purchasing power of any currency in relation to foreign countries by a nominal price operation [nominalni operace cen] inside the country. V. Komarek therefore warned against such naive operations. The real purchasing power is strong today, he said further, since it is "padded" by subsidies for rental payments, food, transport, etc. Those are not charitable gifts, however. If we eliminate subsidies and leave the "naked man with his hunger-wage" alone, then this will not be reform, but a brutal attack on the standard of living, devoid of any reformist meaning. Such a reform step will be meaningful only if it is functional and does not reflect the intricate nature of price ratios and operations. [sentence as published]

Government Includes More Items on Export Ban

AU0603142590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Foreign Buyers Are Interested in Everything"]

[Text] Prague—At its session 1 March the Federal Government set the Federal Ministry for Foreign Trade [FMZO] the task of changing, if possible supplementing, the valid decrees on commercial imports and exports. A consequence of this move will be:

—Extending the ban on exporting goods to include all foodstuffs and food products, alcoholic beverages, all types of bed linen, leather gloves and goods made from leather, enamel goods, ceramic bathroom fixtures, smallbore weapons, shotguns, chest expanders, ammunition, gas appliances, and professional and economic instruments and implements. This supplements the existing list of 38 categories of goods whose export has been banned to date;

—extending the list of goods for whose export permission is necessary by adding to it fuels exported in extra containers and musical instruments;

—rescinding the possibility of exporting goods to which this ban applies, even if foreign tourists acquired financial resources for their purchase by exchanging freely convertible currencies in a bank, something which the FMZO decree, applicable from 8 January 1990, made possible;

—setting a single administrative duty of 150 korunas for the export of goods which may be exported.

These changes will come into effect on 5 March 1990.

Agriculture Production To Avoid Privatization

LD0803113290 Prague CTK in English 2050 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia deputy premier in charge of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Agriculture and Food Oldrich Bursky told journalists here today that agricultural production is not now expected to be privatized.

United agricultural and state farms proved to be useful in the past and agriculture was a stabilized branch to a certain extent. There were no big problems with the amount of food on the market, Oldrich Burksy stressed.

He said that a prepared law on cooperatives will give the possibility also to private farmers. State farms, cooperatives, and individuals will have equal rights. The law will make it possible to merge farms of private farmers into cooperative farms.

Also present at the television press conference on topical problems in Czechoslovak agriculture were ministers of agriculture and food of the Czech and Slovak Republics, Jan Vodehnal and Miroslav Belansky.

Poll Surveys Public View of Privatization

AU0403210990 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Feb 90 p 2

["bau"-signed report: "V. Havel Ranks Uppermost in Popularity; What Public Opinion Research Shows"]

[Text] According to the results of a survey conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research, almost one-half of our population (47 percent) believes that the situation in the next six months is likely to become better, whereas 26 percent of respondents believe that it is likely to get worse. Some 13 percent of the population can be classified as unshakeable optimists because they assume that our immediate future will be "definitely good."

The Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement in Slovakia have registered a slight fall in popularity. Whereas in the first half of December 1989 as many as 78 percent of those questioned were associating their hopes with them, now this is true of only 71 percent. The second place in the popularity rankings has been retained by the Green Party (67 percent compared with 66 percent in December). Charter 77 has experienced a significant rise in popularity, from 42 percent to 62 percent. About 54 percent of the public trusts the independent trade unions, 43 percent the Czechoslovak Social Democracy, and 42 percent the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has registered a major decline. Whereas in late November 21 percent of citizens were linking their hopes with it, now this is true of only 10 percent.

Of political personalities, Vaclav Havel is the one whom the people trust most. A full 60 percent of respondents said so. Other politicians are far behind him. A total of 8 percent of citizens have the greatest trust in M. Calfa and 7 percent in A. Dubcek. On the other hand, asked whom they distrust most, the respondents gave the largest number of votes to L. Adamec (19 percent).

As far as views on private ownership are concerned, 96 percent of those questioned believe that small workshops and businesses ought to return to private hands; 79 percent favor the private ownership of small farms; and 75 percent are in favor of private restaurants and shops. Only 24 percent of respondents expressed themselves in favor of the private ownership of industrial enterprises and only 17 percent want large agricultural enterprises to be private.

Joint Stock Company Founds Agricultural Bank

AU0603094290

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 3 March on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "Agricultural Bank Founded," carries an 800-word "(SP)"-signed report on the constituent general assembly of shareholders in the Agricultural Bank Joint Stock Company, Prague.

Present at the general assembly of 500 shareholders were J. Vodehnal, Czech Socialist Republic minister of agriculture and food, and F. Pavelka, CSSR deputy finance minister.

A total of 6,471 shares were issued which represents basic capital of 647.1 million korunas. The overall level of foreign capital participation will be specified after the adoption of some necessary legal measures, such as the law on joint stock companies, and after guarantees for foreign capital operating in our economy have been provided.

The shareholders elected a 14-member Agricultural Bank board and a five-member supervisory council. Engineer Svatopluk Chalupa, Candidate of Sciences, CSSR deputy minister of agriculture and food, was elected as the board's chairman. Engineer Jan Kral, to date chairman of the bank's preparatory committee and an employee in the CSSR Office of the Government Presidium, was elected as the bank's managing director. The supervisory council elected Engineer Jaromir Matejka, Candidate of Sciences, first deputy chairman of the Czech Planning Commission, as its chairman.

The Agricultural Bank wants to serve the needs and interests of the rural population and would like to contribute toward resolving environmental problems.

Slovak Tatra Bank To Resume Financial Activity

AU0603090890

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 3 March on page 1, under the headline "One Share = 10,000 Korunas," carries a 300-word "(TR)"- signed article reporting that the Slovak Tatra Bank will resume its activity on 1 July 1990. The bank was originally founded during the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

According to the article, the Slovak Tatra Bank is a joint stock company with opening capital of 400 million korunas, which should allow for commercial activity of almost seven billion korunas. The bank will support small enterprises, cooperatives, agriculture, the food industry, commerce, services, and the population. The value of each share is 10,000 korunas; shareholders may be Czechoslovak organizations and citizens or people from abroad.

Miller Discusses Cooperation With ILO Officials

AU0603114190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
3 Mar 90 p 8

[CTK report: "Apropos CSSR-International Labor Office Cooperation"]

[Text] Geneva—Petr Miller, CSSR minister of labor and social affairs, held talks with officials from the International Labor Office [ILO] on developing cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the International Labor Organization in Geneva on 1 and 2 March. Michel Hansenn, ILO director general, his deputies, and directors of key departments participated in the talks. The ILO is the secretariat of the International Labor Organization. Most attention was devoted to issues extremely important from the point of view of current development in Czechoslovakia. It was agreed that experts from the ILO and Czechoslovakia will work out a specific draft program for mutual cooperation which will be submitted to the CSSR Government and the ILO leadership for approval in the very near future.

Dienstbier Queried on German Unity, Austria

AU0803163090 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
8 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by Burkhard Bischof in Prague; date not given]

[Text] [Bischof] The Warsaw Pact foreign ministers are to convene here in Prague on 17 March to draft a joint position on German unity. Do you have specific ideas at this point as to what the CSSR will propose on this occasion?

[Dienstbier] We do not know yet whether this meeting will take place. Poland has suggested holding a meeting, and we offered Prague as a venue. Now it will depend on the others whether this date suits them or not.

As far as our ideas about Germany are concerned, we have repeatedly stated them in public. We believe that the unification of Germany is a fact. What must be decided now is when and how unity is to be achieved. We think that every people and every nation must be granted the right to self-determination. We also believe that Germany should clearly recognize the Oder-Neisse border.

[Bischof] What should the process of unification be like?

[Dienstbier] We are in favor of the "two-plus-four conference" starting its talks. However, we regard these as preliminary talks. The final agreement should be concluded at a European conference within the framework of the Helsinki process. Such an agreement would at the same time be a peace treaty that would terminate the cold war.

If we talk about Germany, we must speak about the whole of Europe because nothing can be seen as being isolated. Until recently, one could discuss German reunification only with a view to the 21st century. Thus, the Germans owe their unification under the new conditions in part to Poland's Solidarity, "Charter 77," and other democratic movements in the Eastern part of Europe.

By the way, the impulse that actually initiated this process was not a German question but the decision by Hungary's Foreign Minister Horn to open the border between Hungary and Austria. This shows that all these issues are closely linked with each other. In short: The German question is a European question.

[Bischof] What were the feelings in Prague about the German-Polish controversy, about the fact that the FRG head of government linked the recognition of the Oder-Neisse border with the renunciation of reparations by Warsaw and guarantees for the ethnic German minority in Poland?

[Dienstbier] I think that the German-Polish controversy shows that the problem cannot be solved at the regional level. This also applies to the question as to whether a united Germany should remain a member of NATO, whether part of its territory should be a member of NATO, or whether it should belong to an alliance at all. All the proposals that have been submitted so far are absurd.

[Bischof] There has apparently been a certain shift in the position of the CSSR's leading politicians on the future of the military blocs. The proposals range from the quick dissolution of the military blocs to the use of the existing structures. Have you or President Havel changed your views on this issue?

[Dienstbier] Neither President Havel nor I have changed our opinion. Our goal is to create something within the framework of the Helsinki process that is similar to what the North Atlantic Pact is for part of the world today. Our aim is clear: We want to change the specific structures within the blocs. In this way, a zone of cooperation between Vladivostok and San Francisco could be created.

If cooperation between the Germans and the French has become possible after centuries of struggles, why should friendship between Americans and Soviets not be possible as well?

This is a goal that we must try to achieve. We can use the old structures, that is the positive sides of the structures, and gradually reduce the aspects that impede this development.

[Bischof] A summit of three countries—including the CSSR, Poland, and Hungary—is scheduled to take place in Bratislava in the near future. Austria has been invited to attend the meeting as an observer. What is the purpose of this summit?

[Dienstbier] So far we intentionally have not developed any specific ideas for this summit. It is intended as a kind of "brain storming." Everybody should be able to say what he wants behind closed doors. This is the best way to collect new ideas. People might come up with ideas there that can be realized immediately.

[Bischof] Do you think that some sort of central European federation might be initiated in Bratislava?

[Dienstbier] We should not create new blocs, but seek specific methods of cooperation. The main task is to establish a democratic-pluralistic European region. This Europe can be neither built on proclamations nor on words, but on the mastering of specific tasks.

All the countries here in Central Europe have similar problems. For this reason, cooperation should be quite easy. It is much easier to solve the problems jointly than individually.

[Bischof] Concerning relations with Austria, does the CSSR Government consider introducing further measures to protect itself against the storm of Austrian tourists who leave empty shops behind in the border region?

[Dienstbier] We will discuss this. It has become clear that the Austrians have not reacted in a particularly friendly way to the opening of the borders. The truth is probably that people simply forget everything if money and their own interests are involved.

We have complied with Austria's wishes by abolishing the compulsory exchange of currency. The "thanks" that we received is that Austrians come to our country to consume beefsteaks here at the price they would have to pay for a ride on the streetcar at home.

Unfortunately, this shows that people never change. Goodwill on our side prompted this reaction, despite the fact that the Austrians know that we have a shortage of certain products. However, I am convinced that our citizens would behave in the same way if they had the opportunity.

Even if there are a great number of sensible people and idealists, there are also hundreds of thousands that behave differently. Thus, we must take measures to prevent a sellout of our republic.

[Bischof] Do you consider reintroducing the compulsory exchange of currency?

[Dienstbier] A commission is currently being established in which all affected ministries will participate: The Trade Ministry and the Foreign Ministry, the Finance Ministry, and the Economics Ministry. This commission will try to arrive at a comprehensive solution. Austria could also contribute to the solution of this problem through strict controls at the borders. Austrian banks could stop the sale of CSSR korunas because the trade in korunas is to be considered illegal in view of the inconvertibility of our currency.

[Bischof] Are you basically satisfied with the state of relations? What could be improved?

[Dienstbier] Relations between our countries are generally good. However, currently relations are strained because many people in southern Moravia and in western Slovakia are angry about empty shops and the fact there is no longer any room for them in the restaurants.

As far as the future is concerned, the two countries might be close partners or rivals in Central Europe—just think of the application by Vienna and Prague for the East-West bank.

[Bischof] What would you like: More partnership, more rivalry, or a combination of both?

[Dienstbier] We have a good basis for cooperation. Currently the starting positions are rather unequal. Many international institutions are based in Vienna, but not a single one in Prague. However, there is no point in transferring existing institutions. Thus, new ones should also be established in our country.

It is in our own interest, but also in the interest of other countries to incorporate the CSSR and its economy in the European process. However, this should not represent an obstacle to reaching an understanding with Austria once a balance has been re-established between Vienna and Prague.

Dienstbier Cited on European Unification

PM0803145290 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 2 Mar 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by Anet Blech and Hella Rottenberg on 1 March; place not given: "Everyone Is Afraid of a Neutralized Germany"]

[Text] The Hague—Jiri Dienstbier certainly knows that he has a passport. He is traveling fit to burst. This week he was in Moscow with his friend, Vaclav Havel; last week he was in Washington. On 1 March he kept an old promise to the Inter-Church Peace Council: As soon as he had a passport he would come to the Netherlands. Dienstbier, who has now been Czechoslovak foreign minister for almost three months, said: "I was often invited to come here on a visit, but for twenty years it was not in the interest of the state to let me travel abroad." After a short pause there came a gentle smile and he said: "Now, well..."

The minister feels comfortable among old friends, although the roles have changed and although everyone is wearing a proper suit or jacket for the occasion, and as if to underline his inexperience of diplomatic protocol Dienstbier receives a tie as a present from the Christian activists. Dienstbier, once a journalist, later a furnaceman and Charter 77 spokesman, was a handful for the authorities for twenty years. He hopes to keep this role—not vis-a-vis the Czechoslovak authorities, but vis-a-vis the Van den Broeks, the Bushes, and the Gorbachevs of this world.

"Perhaps we will be considered troublesome again. We are always making proposals for an end to the division of Europe. The old structures are well worn in and often they work well. We want to replace them. We want to speed up the Helsinki process, and not just from below. We are people who have never dreamed of making a career step by step and then becoming a minister. Our advantage is that we can act as if nothing has happened. If people will not accept us, we can move on and be free again. Then perhaps I will become a political commentator—not a furnaceman.

"It is good that other people have come to power, not because they are new, but because they have learned to say what they think and in doing so do not pay any attention to diplomatic or bureaucratic models. We will continue to do what we did. Of course it is better if we are able to do so with some influence, instead of wasting time in the Politburo."

The unification of Europe, he said, speaking as a minister and a Charter man, is a question which is definitely not settled in treaties by high-ranking gentlemen, but will take shape through cooperation and contacts between citizens. "That may be naive, but naivete is an accusation that has always been thrown in our faces." Naivete, idealism, was "the only strategy with which we could win, instead of reaching compromises with authoritarian structures," Dienstbier said, adding somewhat extravagantly: "This shows: Everything is possible if you want it and strive for it consistently, if you are able to convince people, also through your personal example. We have succeeded not only in changing the political system, but also in ensuring that this happened peacefully."

One of the first questions with which Dienstbier had to deal as minister was the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. After weeks of negotiations an agreement could be signed in Moscow 26 February in which the Russians undertook to bring home all their soldiers by July next year. Dienstbier held talks with his counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze, President Gorbachev, Politburo member Yakovlev, and Boris Yeltsin of the radical opposition. He seems to be surprised by the openness shown and shocked by the chaos to which the Soviet Union has fallen victim.

The situation is so precarious that he believes there are real dangers of a reaction—though not, perhaps, in the form of a putsch. The Red Army, accustomed to being the pride of the nation, feels humiliated, and is coming home with its tail between its legs. And the reformers at the top are stuck fast in the labyrinth of a reluctant bureaucracy. Thus Dienstbier is not in the least convinced of the irreversibility of the process of change in the Soviet Union, even in the short term. Looking somewhat further into the future, a reactionary backlash could, in his view, only hasten the disintegration of the Soviet empire. But before that there would have to be a catastrophe, and "it is in all our interests to prevent this."

Dienstbier expressly reiterated the plea with which Vaclav Havel surprised the U.S. Congress: The Americans should offer the reformers in the Soviet Union all possible help in the complicated transition to democracy. "I am thinking of extremely concrete help," said the man for whom there used to be no place in a state which had "eternal friendship with the Soviet Union" on its banner. "The Americans must send many tonnes of grain, humanitarian aid to regions like Azerbaijan—simply to reduce the pressure being put on the Soviet leadership as a result of the social problems. The malaise is being exploited by the conservative forces in the Soviet party—if, indeed, they are not organizing the shortage of foodstuffs and all manner of goods. A breathing space is needed to make possible the implementation of the political and economic reforms."

Dienstbier's impression is that the Soviet leadership is totally occupied with its internal problems and has no time to devote real thought to how things should go now in Europe and how the security of the Soviet Union can be guaranteed.

According to Dienstbier, Moscow will not remain firm on the position that a reunited Germany should be neutral. "Everyone is afraid of a neutral Germany. The doubts about the behavior of the Germans in the midst of the other Europeans could create a new Versailles complex." There is no proper concept of what status Germany should then have. "It is a characteristic of our time that all relations are uncertain. The whole security system must be altered."

There will no longer be a role for the Warsaw Pact and NATO, if the division of Europe is over. "The Warsaw Pact existed to preserve Stalinist structures. The pact has one task remaining, and that is to reach agreements on disarmament. It is, after all, simpler to let two organizations negotiate than dozens of states." In the long term, U.S. troops will leave Europe, Dienstbier said. Speaking like a Western ally, he said: "We cannot go on asking the Americans forever to defend the security of Europe."

But Czechoslovakia is not a Western ally and cannot become one, Dienstbier said later in a speech to the Netherlands Society for International Affairs. In the place of NATO and the EEC other organizations must be created, for if the old organizations continue to exist "we will become Europe's backyard—a backyard that remains unintegrated." He made a plea for a swift European Security Conference—called Helsinki 2 in political circles—to end the Cold War and to design a new security system.

Dienstbier was unable to give any clear idea about what such a new European security system should look like. But there are two things he does not want: no new blocs and no large-scale, detailed plans. "We have experience enough in making plans which do not seem to work," he chuckled. In concrete terms Czechoslovakia is holding negotiations on cooperation agreements with the EC and the European Free Trade Association. The country also needs very concrete links with the West: "Roads, railways, telephone cables." He regularly has to have the cord of his own 25-year-old telephone at the Foreign Ministry repaired.

Czechoslovakia is not apprehensive about the consequences of the toppling of the Berlin Wall and the unification of the Germanys. "We say: It cannot be prevented, it must be used to speed up European unification." However, ideas are lagging far behind developments, so that all sorts of absurd proposals are being put forward. The best example of the lunacy of bloc thinking was given by Hungarian Foreign Minister Horn who proposed that his country be a member of NATO and a member of the Warsaw Pact at the same time.

Unlike Poland, Czechoslovakia—the only country that borders with both East and West Germany—feels no anxiety about the integrity of its territory. "Except during the Hitler era, our borders with Germany have remained the same for a thousand years." Nevertheless, Prague stands squarely behind Poland as regards the demand that confirmation of the borders—enshrined in a treaty—be made a precondition for the unification of the two Germanys. "The Poles are perhaps afraid that the new state will not feel itself bound to undertakings made by two states that no longer exist. There are strong political forces in Germany which do not want to guarantee the borders."

Reassuringly, Dienstbier followed this up by saying that the Germans are content that their unification must be framed in an overall European integration. In the end the Wall fell as a result not of an internal movement, but of a European opening. "The Wall was leveled by Minister Gyula Horn, who opened the Hungarian border with Austria."

Dienstbier heads a ministry in which the apparatus of the ancien regime is still largely intact. He seems not to find this too great a problem and has little need of a purge. "The great advantage for Czechoslovakia is that since the stifling of the attempt in 1968 to change the system through peaceful means, everyone, including many people working in official posts, knew that the system was completely absurd. Not for nothing was the old leadership afraid of even the smallest change. They knew that as soon as anything began to move the whole apparatus would rush to jump on the bandwagon. And that is exactly what has happened. What an ambassador—an experienced diplomat—who has just retired told me regretfully is typical: 'The whole of my life I have had to be a cynic; only now is the profession becoming interesting.'"

Nevertheless, the Foreign Ministry was one of the places where some employees of the state security service were active. Similar situations in Romania and the GDR have led to great unrest among the people and a fear of conspiracies. Dienstbier is not worried about this. "The State Security Service has been dissolved," he said laconically. "Those who were in the service have been given six months on full pay to find another job."

Finally, a personal question: How does it feel to be an amateur among professional politicians? Dienstbier, smiling broadly: "I decided to become foreign minister when I was ten. I went to the book store and bought a book on the history of diplomacy. When I was fifteen I realized that it was wrong to want to become a minister. But I have studied the diplomatic profession since I was ten, so I am less of an amateur than most of my colleagues."

Dienstbier, Belgian Counterpart Discuss Europe

LD0203222390 Prague CTK in English 1850 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Brussels March 2 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier met here today with his Belgian colleague Mark Eyskens. The two representatives pointed out the necessity of further development of the Helsinki process and explained the opinions of their countries on the solution of the German issue.

The two ministers agreed that the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional armament in Europe should be concluded very early and that an agreement should be signed at a summit meeting this year.

Mark Eyskens informed the Czechoslovak minister of the prospects of the European Communities and of possibilities of cooperation with Central and Eastern European countries. He said it is necessary to include the relations between Czechoslovakia and Belgium into a new context in the framework of creating new European structures.

Czechoslovak foreign minister pointed out that the normalization of relations with all countries, including the USA and the USSR, is the main task of the Czechoslovak foreign policy. He also said that the agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia is a prerequisite for new Czechoslovak-Soviet relations.

Havel To Meet Walesa 17 Mar

LD0503161790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Poland: A meeting of the members of the informal initiative Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity which has been developing contacts with independent and opposition movements of the two countries since 1978 was held at (?Bielice) in Klodzko area in the last few days.

Those taking part in the meeting decided on the program of the meeting of Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa which will be organized by the Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity on 17 March. They approved also a number of statements, among other things, concerning the final abolition for the construction project of a cableway on Snezka Mountain, of the Stonava coking plant, and about the concern of the general public with regard to the possible consequences of the unification of Germany.

Soviet Troops Conduct Military Exercise

LD0803202390 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] A military exercise is scheduled to take place near Mimon at the end of this week. Soviet units from Trutnov will take part. In order to prevent the roads from being damaged by tracked vehicles, the district National Committee has banned their use through the town. The exercise will be a minor one, and the Soviet soldiers will thus be able to devote themselves completely to eradicating any damage that has occurred during their temporary stay in our country.

Chinese Student Protesters Visit Prague

AU0603135890 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 5 Mar 90 p 4

[CTK report: "Two From the Chinese Opposition"]

[Text] "I want to get to know Czechoslovakia—a country whose people managed to triumph over dictatorship," said Liu Binyan [spelling of name as published], one of the two leading Chinese opposition representatives who arrived at Ruzyne Airport yesterday on a visit to Czechoslovakia. His colleague—student Sheng Tong [spelling of name as published]—one of the organizers and a direct participant in last year's student demonstrations in Beijing, continued: "When I look at the victorious democratic crusades in your country, in the GDR, and in the majority of East European countries, I believe that China is also awaiting freedom." The visit is taking place on the basis of an invitation from the Professional Union of Czechoslovak Students [Stavovska Unie Studentu Ceskoslovenska]. An element of the program, taking place over a four-day period, is an open discussion with the public which will be held at 1430 on Wednesday 7

March in Charles University's Philosophical Faculty. Both Chinese representatives are due to meet the president, representatives of Civic Forum, students, and so on.

PRC Envoy Protests Visit

LD0303051190 Prague CTK in English 2152 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 2 (CTK)—First Deputy Foreign Minister Robert Harencar received here today Chinese Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Wang Xingda who conveyed him a protest against the arrival of a group of Chinese students to Czechoslovakia who are to take part in a press conference organized by the Student Professional Union on March 5.

Students Received by Havel

LD0903045490 Prague CTK in English 2040 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received here today two representatives of the Chinese democratic opposition in exile, writer and journalist Liu Binyan and one of the leaders of the students' movement Shen Tong.

They centered their discussion on the problems of human rights.

Havel Concerned over 'Tense Situation' in Brno

LD0903135290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, has expressed his concern over the tense situation in Brno. He emphasized that it is a matter for the inhabitants of Brno, who should know in that atmosphere which office should prevail in the city. It is out of my jurisdiction as president of the republic to interfere in the conflicts there, said Vaclav Havel. However, I have found out that Petr Cibulke misused his private talks with me by using in pamphlets a passage taken out of context, and in addition, in this passage he changed a verb in such a way that a sentence was given a different meaning. Therefore, I feel the need to make my view known on the Brno situation. In my opinion no conflict will be settled by street fights, by inflaming the general public, and by bringing conflicts to a head. The political order of our revolution should create an obligation to everybody to build a new system in a peaceful and dignified way, said President Havel.

Czech, Slovak National Fronts Continue Operation

AU0203105390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Feb 90 p 1

[CTK report: "The National Front Is Changing"]

[Text] Prague— Yesterday Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Anton Tazky, chairman of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, and Rudolf Dusek, deputy chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, who informed him about the work of the republican bodies of the National Front under the new conditions. They told him that the National Fronts in the Czech Socialist Republic and in the Slovak Socialist Republic are changing into open and democratic movements of social and special interest organizations, political parties, and civic and other initiatives and associations. Their mutual relationship is that of equal partners.

Czech Government Debates Potential Legislation

LD0803115890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Several bills closely connected with the development of democracy and the market economy were discussed today by the Czech Republic Government. Here are more details from correspondent Jana Havligerova:

[Havligerova] Among those bills that will definitely interest the general public is the bill on the use of nonresidential buildings. Before we hear Czech Deputy Minister of the Interior Budimir Klima outlining the principles of the bill, let me recall that the bill has yet to be discussed by the Federal Government and also parliament:

[Begin Klima recording] There was a single principle, which is that both private entrepreneurs and organizations really want to engage in business, and therefore they need adequate premises to operate, which means nonresidential buildings. Today's situation is that we see empty warehouses, empty premises in the center of town; there are also places where buildings are in dilapidated or in dangerous conditions. The old law, in fact, regulated only the administrative allocation of buildings by the national committees. It did this solely on the basis of personal relations; it paid no regard to property relations, price relations, and so on. Therefore, on 1 April 1990 a new law on commerce or law on business is expected to take effect. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Considers Draft Bills

LD0803163790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] The Czech Government today discussed more draft bills. It concerned itself for example with the draft bill on use of nonresidential buildings and the draft bill on some measures connected with the promulgation of the law on individual business by physical persons [as received], which defines the activity of national committees concerning registration and business activity.

It also discussed a proposal for the preparation of the reform of National Committees in the Czech Republic, which lies in the transition to a two-tier system. The Czech Government also expressed agreement with terminating the activity of Regional National Committees by 31 December this year.

Mohorita Discusses Changes in CPCZ Role

AU0503174490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

["(BC)"-signed report: "Approximately One Million Members"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—At the start of the 2 March meeting with journalists in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's [CPCZ] Press Center, Vasil Mohorita, CPCZ Central Committee first secretary, first gave a briefing about the work of Communist deputies in the Federal Assembly.

The club's mission is to unite views by means of discussion, but this does not mean that a deputy, while making a speech in parliament, cannot adopt his own point of view or, while voting, express the view of his electors.

He also said that the number of party members, according to an estimate, is around one million. Extensive organizational changes are taking place and the exact number is unknown. The vacating of the current CPCZ Central Committee building is being held up by the decision on who will be the building's new occupier. A decision on this has been awaited for two months.

In reply to a question on whether the Communist Party will defend the interests of small private entrepreneurs, against whom in the past its policy was very prejudicial, the first secretary said that support for individual entrepreneurs is enshrined in the CPCZ's Action Program.

V. Mohorita characterized the situation in the party as complicated; nevertheless, the district conferences have shown that renewal "from below" is continuing. Communists are trying to integrate themselves into the democratization process despite the fact that more and more bitter attacks are being made against the CPCZ, first and foremost, in some mass information media.

It was also explained that it is impossible to simplify cadre changes as "the expulsion of Communists from their posts." Sometimes, other, more capable, party members are elected into their posts. In some places, understandably, there have been mistakes and injustices. But the greatest danger lies in the instability which these changes to managerial posts cause in various places. Former employees in the CPCZ apparatus mostly find jobs in workers' professions but also in posts corresponding to their original qualifications.

At the end of the news conference, Vasil Mohorita replied to a question regarding when he had ceased to identify with the party's monopoly of power. He recalled that this was, perhaps, two or three years ago when his eyes had been opened due to "perestroyka" in the USSR. He reevaluated his viewpoints during preparations for the nationwide youth conference. He realized then that the CPCZ was absolutely incapable of implementing democratization in society. He said that, in his case, this does not merely involve his turning over a new leaf. He added that we are all at the beginning in the shaping of a new society. However, the CPCZ does not intend to take on the role of a guilty person ad infinitum nor does it want to act as a force that all of a sudden knows "how something should be done and gives instructions for something else." Yes, we want to be part of the opposition; however, this has to be constructive.

CPCZ Spokesman Defends Acquisition of Funds

AU0903112890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Mar 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Standpoint of the Spokesman for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the Statement of the Civic Forum Group in the CKD Semiconductors Plant: Property of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] On 3 March, the daily press carried a statement issued by the Civic Forum group of the CKD Semiconductors plant in Prague concerning property of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]. The statement provides the following rationale with regard to the demand for its nationalization:

"We do not consider the argument that the CPCZ acquired its assets from the dues paid by its members to be well-founded because, according to logical judgment, these dues could not possibly cover even the wages and the operating costs of this party's extensive staff."

The following needs to be added to this. Every logical judgment, in political life in particular, must be based on the knowledge of specific facts. In this particular case, these facts have been available to the public for some time. RUDE PRAVO, for example, provided information on them on 10 February.

Data on the conduct of the CPCZ's economic affairs in 1988 (the books for 1989 have not been closed yet) show that the salaries of employees of the CPCZ apparatus at all levels cost 533,700,000 Czechoslovak korunas. Operating costs in the same year required a sum of 336,610,000 korunas. Income from members' dues, on the other hand, totalled 1,325,930,000 korunas in 1988. From this follows that the wage costs and operating expenses of the CPCZ apparatus accounted for fewer than 66 percent of the party's income from members' dues. Total political and operating expenditures of the CPCZ—which, in addition to the above items, include the scholarships paid to students of the political college, the cost of political educational activity, the cost of conferences, international and partnership contacts, and the like—amounted to 1,174,676,000 korunas, which is still 151 million korunas below income from members' dues.

It is therefore not true that the CPCZ was unable to finance the salaries and operating costs of its apparatus from the contributions of its members (whose number in 1988 was around 1.7 million), as the Civic Forum group of the CKD Semiconductors plant claims. Quite the contrary; the fact is that similar claims, the aim of which is to bring pressure to bear on the CPCZ, misinform the public, thereby preventing it, in fact, from arriving at sound logical judgment.

As far as the conduct of the CPCZ's economic affairs for this year is concerned, the situation is far worse, however, for two main reasons. The first reason is that the Extraordinary CPCZ Congress, held in December, reduced members' dues to about one-half of their level according to the 1989 scale. The second reason is the significant decline in the number of CPCZ members. According to estimates, about 600,000 to 700,000 members have left the party since last year. Even though the extraordinary congress reduced the CPCZ's apparatus statewide to about 20 percent of its original size, some CPCZ district organizations fear that in the second half of the year they will be unable to finance from their revenues even a minimum staff and the operation of their organization.

Bilak Denies Charges of Political Activity

LD0803213390 Prague CTK in English 2012 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Bratislava March 8 (CTK)—Former Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Vasil Bilak has denied all reports that he exerts political activity, especially in East Slovakia.

In a statement sent to CTK he said that "Leading representatives of political parties and movements including chairman of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Executive Committee Peter Weiss claim that Vasil Bilak organizes and exerts political activity, particularly in East Slovakia. All this is a slander and lie. I state that I have not been to East Slovakia since August 1989," Vasil Bilak said adding that he has not left Bratislava for a single hour since last December (with the exception of the funeral of former leading official of the Communist Party Viliam Salgovic). "I do not organize anything, I do not stump anywhere, I am not engaged in any political activity," Vasil Bilak said.

Deputy Minister Outlines New Secret Service

AU0903110690 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 6 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Deputy Interior Minister Jaroslav Prochazka by Jan Subert; place and date not given—"The Secret Service Stands Guard Over Freedom"]

[Text] The intelligence service, counterespionage, and secret headquarters. These are all agencies based on myths, speculation, and the dreadful experiences associated with their abuse in totalitarian regimes. However, a strictly secret intelligence service, stringently controlled by law, is necessary to all democratic states. It is an effective weapon against terror and against forces striving for absolute political power.

Lieutenant Colonel Jaroslav Prochazka is an intelligence officer who, during the 1970 screening procedures, was removed from the service because of the stances he adopted during the revival process. Today he is deputy interior minister and the newly established secret service that stands guard over our freedom—Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy—falls under his authority. We met in his office at the agency's headquarters and asked him questions.

[Subert] The mission of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy is already apparent from its name. But let us try to detail its tasks a little....

[Prochazka] The office will take action against violations of constitutional order, will resist attempts made against our state's integrity, and endeavors to illegally interfere with the work of constitutional organs. Of course, it will also uncover activities directed toward violently changing our democratic system. An important task is to eliminate the activity of foreign intelligence services on our territory and to wage a counterintelligence struggle with international terrorism.

[Subert] Your new service came into being not quite three weeks ago on 16 February. Does it already have a structure and concept?

[Prochazka] The general concept has already been defined, the details are being completed, and we are carrying out the selection of suitable people. The entire agency will be absolutely top secret; only one person—its director—will represent it in public. He has been appointed and I will make his name known in the very near future.

[Subert] Are the agency's intelligence services already operating?

[Prochazka] Everything is now being established but, of course, we are already in operation. A group concentrating on foreign intelligence gathering is at work and an internal intelligence service is getting under way. As far as specific information sources are concerned, the Public Security Corps is helping us out.

[Subert] Are you already able to monitor any possible activity by former members of the abolished State Security?

[Prochazka] We are trying and, I think, we have made a good start. Among other things, in this connection we are reacting to doubts raised by the public and there are many of them. We are looking into all of them and I can assure our citizens: There is no reason for anxiety at the moment. However, this definitely does not mean that we are underestimating the possible risk.

[Subert] You mentioned a struggle against foreign intelligence services. Of course, it is stupid and illogical to assume that agencies from Western countries will undertake activity in our country directed toward subverting our recently acquired democratic system....

[Prochazka] Of course. On the other hand, it is impossible not to realize that there are still a number of totalitarian regimes and countries in the world that harbor superpower ambitions. Moreover, it is necessary to bear in mind that we are opening up to the world and various people will come to our country. And among them, for instance, will be people which undemocratic states and dictatorships might have an interest in eliminating. Today it is possible to say with certainty that many countries will attempt to acquire confidential political information in our country and, perhaps, even some scientific and technical secrets. At the moment, we are checking on which states are able to orient their intelligence gathering services on our country and in which way.

[Subert] To whom will you hand over intelligence information?

[Prochazka] To the president of the republic, to the Federal, Czech, and Slovak Governments, and to individual ministers—as is normal everywhere else in the world.

[Subert] Do you have any idea how you will proceed against international terrorism?

[Prochazka] We have, and a high quality intelligence gathering service can carry out a great deal of work here. A highly specialized team, which will hand over the information it has acquired to special units for the struggle against terrorism and drugs, has taken on the responsibility for this sphere in our agency.

[Subert] According to some opinions now being expressed, it is impossible to discount activity by some foreign terrorist groups on our territory, especially in connection with the reopening of the Israeli diplomatic mission. What do you think about this?

[Prochazka] It really is impossible to discount such activity. Therefore, our cooperation with foreign intelligence services, cooperation that will enable us to forestall and confront international terror, will have to be even closer.

[Subert] Are you considering contacts, for example, with the American CIA or with the British Intelligence Service and MI5?

[Prochazka] Yes, we envisage such contacts, and I am empowered to announce that we will cooperate with everyone who will not interfere in our internal affairs. For example, our special delegation has already held talks in this spirit in the United States. Of course, we will also exchange information with agencies in the Soviet Union and in other East European countries.

[Subert] As deputy interior minister, can you give the public a guarantee that the new secret service will never be misused against our citizens?

[Prochazka] I can. All activity undertaken by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy will be strictly controlled by law. For example, as far as telephone tapping and opening private correspondence is concerned, this will only be possible in serious and substantiated cases and only after written agreement has been obtained from the public prosecutor's office. I also have to emphasize that our agency does not have, and will not have, any investigators or repressive elements as was the case in State Security. Specific measures, which it will be necessary to carry out on the basis of intelligence information, will be dealt with by other agencies: criminal services, the Office for the Investigation of Anti-Constitutional Activities, the Office for the Protection of Constitutional Figures, and other specialized and newly established units. Moreover, I want to add that our intelligence officers are, and will be, people distinguished by their democratic way of thinking.

[Subert] Thank you for being able for the first time in 40 years to inform our public about the Czechoslovak secret service.

Dubcek Intends To Stand as Election Candidate

LD0803204390 Prague CTK in English 1840 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 8 (CTK)—Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek told a news conference here today he would stand as a candidate in the June elections.

"I am not affiliated to any political party and it depends on circumstances whether some movement puts me on its list as an independent candidate," Dubcek said.

He was speaking at the first news conference of leading representatives of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly. They announced that a bill on private enterprise of individuals, impatiently awaited by the public, will be discussed by the parliamentary committees this month and the new law, if approved, will come into effect on 1 April (originally it was to be discussed in April and come into effect in May).

Alexander Dubcek confirmed that the Federal Assembly deputies are now extremely pressed by time as the legislative program is very extensive. This is why the Federal Assembly Presidium has suggested that the deputies should work in the assembly over the next two months.

Several packages of bills and amendments are to be discussed in parliament before the June elections. An amendment to the defence law and a bill on alternative military service are to be put to the vote next week, new political bills on the rights to assembly, association and petition are to be discussed in parliament at the end of March. Also on the agenda will be a new press law and a law on Czechoslovak citizenship. Exciting will be most likely a debate about the final version of Czechoslovakia's state budget for 1990 to be submitted by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus.

A number of economic bills will be discussed in April. Among them e.g. a bill on joint-stock companies.

Dubcek Pays Tribute to Masaryk Legacy

LD0803101590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Roman Zamboch report]

[Excerpts] In the Federal Assembly building today we remembered the 140th anniversary of the birth of the first president of independent Czechoslovakia. Sixty years ago the then National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic passed a law on the contributions of Tomas Garrigue Masaryk a result of which the phrase "Tomas Garrigue Masaryk contributed to the state" was chiselled into the stone in both chambers of the pre-war parliament. [passage omitted]

Alexander Dubcek, Federal Assembly chairman first shook hands with Mrs Anna Masarykova, the granddaughter of Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, and then under the bust of Masaryk, he made a short speech. He said among other things:

[Begin Dubcek recording, in Slovak] The day after his election as president of the Czechoslovak Republic, Tomas Garrigue Masaryk said in his message to the National Assembly that democracy is not ruling but working to secure justice. I recall this Masaryk legacy because we are entering a complicated period of the realization of a positive program for our future evolution. Nothing will be easy or will come without sacrifice. For this reason I ask that we constantly remember Masaryk's high moral principles. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Civic Forum Defends Czechoslovaks in FRG

LD0903133690 Prague CTK in English 2118 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Munich March 8 (CTK)—In an open letter to President Havel, the Czechoslovak Civic Forum in Munich has appealed for help for Czechoslovaks in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The letter points out that holders of asylum passports are prevented de facto from visiting their liberated homeland since they would jeopardise their status which is linked to a long-term residence and work permits and other civil rights. Not only the German but also the Austrian and Swiss authorities had started to adopt the scarcely comprehensible practice of taking away the right to asylum of those who made the trip to their home country nonetheless. The authorities maintain that these people "have accepted the protection of the persecuting state" and thereby "lost the right to asylum."

"We believe that it is up to the Czechoslovak authorities to assume the defence of Czechoslovak citizens living in the FRG, Austria and Switzerland. Those of our fellow countrymen who hold asylum passports are extremely uneasy and are worried about how the situation, which is paradoxically unfavourable for them at the present time, will develop," the Civic forum declares.

More Political Parties, Organizations Founded

AU0603174890

[Editorial Report] Czechoslovak newspapers of 26 February report on the founding congresses or assemblies of several political parties and other organizations held on Saturday, 24 February, or Sunday, 25 February.

Prague PRACE in Czech on 26 February, on page 2, carries a series of 20-to-200-word correspondents' or CTK reports on the constituent meetings of the following organizations:

The Union of Hungarians (Svaz Madaru) living in Czech lands, was constituted in Prague on 24 February and is said to represent the approximately 23,000 ethnic Hungarians living in the Czech Socialist Republic.

The Union of Corporate Lawyers in the Czech Socialist Republic (Unie podnikovych pravniku v CSR), was set up in Prague on 24 February and its aim is to "improve the social, legal, and financial position of corporate lawyers."

The Society of Friends of the United States (Spolecnost pratel USA), held its first congress in Zlin on 24 February in the presence of 1,000 delegates as well as two representatives of the U.S. Embassy in Prague. According to the PRACE report, the society is a "nongovernmental and nonpolitical organization" that wants to build on the traditions of friendship between the Czechoslovak and American people and promote contacts between them. The society was founded in 1987 but had to operate "illegally" at first. It was registered with the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic on 17 January 1990. The congress reportedly approved the organization's statutes and organizational rules, under which the Council of the Society of Friends of the United States, headed by a president, will be the organization's supreme body. The society's head office will be in Prague.

The Independent Trade Union of Free-Lance Artists (Nezavisle odborove sdruzeni svobodnych umelcu), was set up in Prague on 25 February, and its aim is to "defend the labor-related, social, and cultural interests of its members, maintain contact with international trade union organizations, and seek the consistent implementation of international agreements and conventions of the International Labor Office." Karel Stedry was elected chairman of the union.

On the same page, PRACE also carries a 30-word report on the congress of Jewish Religious Communities in the Czech Socialist Republic, held in Prague on 25 February, which "elected a new Presidium and reelected Dr. Desider Galsky from Prague as president of the Council of the Jewish Religious Communities in the Czech Socialist Republic."

Finally, also on page 2, PRACE carries a 100-word report on a meeting of the Czech-Moravian Students' Parliament (Ceskomoravsky parlament studentu) in Prague on 25 February, which approved the parliament's "new structure" (no details of it are provided), elected Jan Vidim, a student of the Prague Economics College, as president of the parliament, and charged Tomas Ctibor with "representing students in the Federal Assembly as a co-opted deputy on behalf of the Civic Forum."

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 26 February, on page 4, carries a 400-word "kj, ml"-signed report entitled "New Parties, Clubs, Societies." The report mentions that the "Milan Rastislav Stefanik Society" (Spolecnost Milana Rastislava Stefanika) held its constitutent assembly at Brezova pod Bradlom on 24 February. The society intends to "highlight the relevance of M.R. Stefanik's work and promote his legacy and ideals of freedom and humanism."

The same report mentions that the Union of Journalists from Moravia and Silesia (Unie novinaru Moravy a Slezska) held its constituent meeting in Olomouc on 24 February. It wants to operate as a constituent part of the Syndicate of Journalists from Bohemia and Moravia.

Finally, the RUDE PRAVO report notes that the Republican Union (Republikanska unie) held an assembly in Prague on 25 February. The union, which associates the Liberal European Party and the Czechoslovak Party of Free Democrats, wants to operate as a "platform for right-of-center political parties."

Slovak Council Accused of Fostering Nationalism

AU0803095390 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 3 Mar 90 p 2

[Ondrej Neff commentary: "What Does Matter"]

[Text] The proposal for a vertically halved emblem of the republic has staged a comeback after 22 years. What matters is not so much that a lion squeezed into a narrow space like a lover into the wardrobe does not look very good or that even the three Slovak hills behind his back do not look much better. We knew this 22 years ago and we know it today. But, really, this is not the only thing that matters.

What does matter with regard to the decisions which the Slovak National Council made 1 March is something else: We should have serious reasons to fear that these decisions have released the genie of nationalistic frenzy. Slovak deputies could hardly expect the inhabitants of the Czech lands to show enthusiasm for a "lover in the wardrobe"-style solution to the state emblem. They probably felt that they need not care for the reaction that would follow; that it is not necessary to take into consideration what feelings would be aroused in them [the inhabitants of Czech lands] by the decision that, henceforth, a different flag would fly over Slovakia, and that tribute would be paid only to the Slovak part of the national anthem. They probably thought that they would simply confront Bohemia and Moravia with a fait accompli.

What is substantial and what really matters is that in this literally critical stage in the development of our republic, the attention of the public will apparently be drawn to issues of prestige, instead of being preoccupied with what is most important—i.e. with the reconstruction of the economy, with the creation of an economic system that will allow all of us—Slovaks, Czechs, and Moravians—to return to Europe. The devil may not be as black as I am painting him but I sincerely fear that the fundamentally negative trait of the spirits being released from the bottle will soon be confirmed —i.e. that it is difficult and outright impossible to force them back in again.

Religious, Cultural Ties With Israel Discussed

AU0503100290

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 26 February on page 5 carries a 500-word interview with Daniel Mayer, the rabbi of Bohemia and Moravia, by Zuzana Petrova. The interview, the date and place of which are not given, deals with Mayer's recent 2-week visit to Israel. As Mayer stresses, this was the first time that he "was able" to visit Israel since his appointment as rabbi in 1984.

Mayer says that, during the visit, he discussed Israeli support for the development of Jewish religious life in Czechoslovakia and the "revival of contacts" between the two countries. Referring to the results of his talks in Israel, Mayer says that Czechoslovak Jewish children will be "participating in study tours of Israel;" that the Chief Rabbinate in Jerusalem promised its support for the construction of a Mikveh, a ritual bath house, in Prague; and that a branch of Bne'i Akiva, a Jewish religious youth movement, will be set up in the Czechoslovak capital. Moreover, Mayer also received promises of supplies of religious literature.

Speaking about the promotion of contacts between the two countries, Mayer says that he expects increased tourist traffic following the start of direct flights between Prague and Tel Aviv "probably in June." He also mentions that a Czechoslovak Society of Friends of Israel was set up on 16 January and that a congress of Czechoslovak Jewry will take place in Israel in late April. On this occasion, the Prague Jewish Museum will display its collections in Israel.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 February on page 2 carries a 100-word CTK report on the reception of a delegation of the "Central Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Slovakia" by Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council, in Bratislava on 26 February. According to the report, the delegation informed Schuster about "problems of the Jewish population in the religious, cultural, and social spheres" and asked for the allocation of premises so that Slovak Jews can set up a "House of Jewish Culture and Gastronomy" in Bratislava, "which would also be a contribution to the development of tourism" in the Slovak capital.

New Law To Strike Undemocratic Court Verdicts

AU0503094590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 27 Feb 90 p 1

[CTK report: "On SANOPZ and Mormons"]

[Excerpts] The government of the Czech Socialist Republic discussed the draft law on court rehabilitation, which is within federal jurisdiction. The aim of this law is to declare null and void court verdicts passed between 25 February 1948 and 31 December 1989 which were at variance with the principles of democratic society, and with respect for political and civil rights and freedoms as enshrined in international documents and legal norms. The draft provides for the possibility of a swift reexamination of court verdicts and for the material compensation of unlawfully sentenced persons. [passage omitted]

At the recommendation of the minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, the government considered the request of the Preparatory and Constituent Committee of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) in the Czech Socialist Republic and gave its consent to the activity of this religious community on the Czech Socialist Republic territory. This decision takes effect on 1 March 1990. The government of the Czech Socialist Republic rescinded the decision of its Presidium of 30 January 1989 on the use of the former SANOPZ sanatorium (the present Hospital Na Homolce in Prague-5) by a selected circle of state officials and party functionaries. [passage omitted]

Suva Advocates Nuclear Power for Energy Needs

LD0103173490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1844 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Remarks by Jaroslav Suva, minister of fuels and power, at the Federal Assembly session in Prague—live]

[Excerpts] Members of the [Federal Assembly] Presidium, deputies. Allow me to briefly respond in summary form to the comments raised about the activity of the fuel and power industry. As you know very well, the industry is in a very complex situation, because our economy is highly energy-intensive, and considerable funds have been used to meet demands, in some cases even to the detriment of the health of the working people, as has been pointed out here in the case of deep-mine extraction; this activity also has a far-reaching impact on the environment, and is therefore the subject of extensive criticism. [passage omitted]

As has already been stated, we intend to develop the nuclear power program and gas supplies as the two main directions for meeting our energy needs in the immediate term. At the same time we do not intend to abandon the idea of using other small renewable and nontraditional energy sources. Experience from other countries—for example, Denmark but also other states—shows that these can also play a part in resolving the energy problem.

Now a few comments on nuclear energy. I would also like to thank those who raised critical remarks on nuclear power, because I think they were motivated by the need to ensure that the nuclear power program is as safe as possible. That is something in which we all have an interest. We explained the problem of the development of nuclear power engineering and its environmental ramifications in detail at the session of the Federal Assembly's Environmental Committee. On the issue of spent fuel, I can tell you our spent fuel is stored for three years in a spent fuel pond at the nuclear power station. It is then taken to a store at Jaslovske Bohunice, and after a short storage period in that facility it is taken to the Soviet Union, under the intergovernmental agreements with that country, for final disposal. This applies to the problem of the fuel from the A-1 station [at Jaslovske Bohunice). On the question of the construction of the nuclear power stations at Mochavce and Temelin, the situation is not very satisfactory because there are known problems with the automated control system, which we must resolve. We are dealing with this situation now, and we will carry out or propose measures to improve this unsatisfactory situation. As for the question raised by Mrs (?Parchanova) related to the incident at Jaslovske Bohunice, it must be said that in this case there was no threat to nuclear safety, the operational regulations were not violated, and the fire brigade's intervention was essentially preventive. [passage omitted]

Statistics Reveal Sharp Increase in Crime

AU0503160190

[Editorial Report] Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 26 February and Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 28 February carry reports dealing with the growth of the crime rate.

Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 26 February on page 3 carries a 400-word "sch"-signed report, entitled "Sad Reading," dealing with the "alarming growth of the crime rate" in the Czechoslovak capital. The report notes that in January 1990 the crime rate in Prague was 36 percent higher than in the same month of 1989, while, at the same time, "the clear-up rate" declined 20 percent. This means that only 36.3 percent of all criminal acts and minor offenses were cleared up in January. The VECERNI PRAHA report mentions that five murders were committed in Prague in January, three of which have been cleared up, and that there were 35 robberies, 27 more than last January. The number of cases of bodily harm is said to have been 50 percent higher than last January and the number of cases of "property-related criminal activity" 69 percent higher. According to the report, "anonymous threats of explosions in public buildings," of which 26 were registered in Prague between the beginning of the year and 19 February, "continue to be a problem." The Prague police is also said to be facing problems with which it cannot cope on its own, such as the problem of homeless amnestied prisoners congregating around the Main Railway Station or the "black market" in Prague-Holesovice. In view of the security situation in the capital, Minister of Interior Sacher reportedly decided to strengthen the "patrol service" of the Public Security Corps in Prague by 500 men.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 28 February on page 4 carries a 350-word "val"-signed report, entitled "Only Soft Drugs So Far," dealing with a news conference in Prague on 27 February, at which Czech Ministry of Interior officials provided information on the state of criminality in the Czech Socialist Republic. Referring to the 1989 crime statistics, the report notes that "the perpetrators of criminal activity were ascertained in 93,542 cases last year, which represents a clear-up rate of 77.5 percent." A total of 126 murders were committed in the Czech Socialist Republic in 1989, only 7 of which reportedly remain unclarified. Turning to the situation in 1990, the RUDE PRAVO report states: "There has been a sharp increase in criminal activity since the beginning of this year, the reasons for which are hard to diagnose. The fact is that not only the amnestied citizens can be blamed for this trend. A steadily growing number of people want to get rich without working; property-related criminal activity, such as theft, burglaries, and mugging, is on the rise." Referring to drug-related crime, the RUDE PRAVO report says that Czechoslovakia is a market for "so-called soft drugs" only, although it is increasingly being used as a transit route for hard drugs as well.

Hromadka Attends Education Conference in Thailand

LD0603125290 Prague CTK in English 1126 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Jomtien March 6 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Josef Hromadka addressed today the current world conference on education for all, held in Thailand's Jomtien, and informed its participants of Czechoslovakia's setting on the road of restoring its plural democratic political system and independence of the country in which education is accessible for all people.

He voiced the hope that the 1990's and the beginning of the third millennium could become a period of peaceful coexistence and cooperation in the development of culture and education.

The Czechoslovak official invited the participants in the world conference to take part in an international conference due in Prague in 1992 on the occasion of the 400th birthday anniversary of Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius).

In an interview to CTK Josef Hromadka, the head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the world conference, stated that what Czechoslovakia expects from the west is assistance in technical and technological studies, including computers.

Czechoslovakia itself can offer the world its rich cultural heritage, Josef Hromadka said and underlined Tomas Garrigue Masaryk's idea that real democracy can be ensured only by full participation of people in social life. In this connection he voiced the conviction that the pseudo-culture of satellite television and video-recorders will not prevail in Czechoslovakia as an expression of lack of interest in social developments.

Vacek Meets Former Resistance Movement Members

LD0303050890 Prague CTK in English 2210 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 2 (CTK)—Members of military units which were formed in France, Great Britain and in the Middle East 50 years ago and fought against anti-fascist domination in the Second World War met here today legally for the first time in 42 years.

Participants in the meeting were greeted by Czechoslovak Defence Minister Colonel-General Miroslav Vacek who assured them that all Western resistance movement members will be fully rehabilitated. He also promised that the Defence Ministry will support the Military Historical Institute in Prague in assessing objectively the history of the fights for freedom in cooperation with resistance movement members.

The meeting was also attended by military attaches of the French and British Embassies to Czechoslovakia Colonel Jean-Claude Monchot and Colonel Robin J.M. Drummond respectively.

Negotiations on German Unification in Berlin

LD0903095890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0906 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Deputy GDR Foreign Minister Ernst Krabatsch and Political Director in the FRG Foreign Office Dieter Kastrup began negotiations on Friday morning on the external aspects of German unification. The agenda of the meeting in the guest house of the GDR Foreign Ministry in Berlin included organizational questions and understanding on issues to be discussed later.

The first meeting at expert level according to the "two plus four" formula meeting agreed upon at Ottawa is planned for Wednesday of next week in Bonn. This meeting will be attended by representatives of both German states and of the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, and France.

Expert Meeting Concludes

LD0903125890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1207 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—After two and a half hours of talks in the GDR Foreign Ministry guest house in Berlin, the first meeting at expert level on external aspects of German unification and on issues relating to the security of neighboring states ended on Friday morning. As GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Ernst Krabatsch and FRG Foreign Office Political Director Dieter Kastrup told the press after the meeting, both sides talked about procedural matters for future German-German negotiations. Apart from that, confidentiality about the talks has been agreed. No further meeting has been agreed. [passage omitted]

Meyer Rejects FRG Accusations on New Laws

LD0803135890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1338 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of Ministers today rejected attacks from the FRG on the most recent legal regulations decided by the People's Chamber. At the scheduled news conference in Berlin, government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer underlined the Cabinet's view that it has done everything possible to give GDR citizens confidence and security. In this regard, the social charter should be mentioned in particular.

In the government's assessment, even greater efforts are needed to prepare the People's Chamber election, Meyer said further. A lack of readiness among citizens to take part in the election is being noticed. He added that the Cabinet rejects all outside attempts to intervene in the democratic preparation of the elections.

Genscher Rejects Abrupt GDR Entry Into FRG

LD0903090390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0049 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Halle (ADN)—On Thursday evening, during his visit to Halle, FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher ruled out the possibility that a newly elected GDR government will unilaterally declare its entry into the FRG under Article 23 of the Basic Law without consultations and agreement. He did not have the slightest doubt that a newly elected GDR Government will also "just like us" seek "understanding, agreement, and harmony." Entry under Article 23 could at best come at the end of the working out of framework conditions. In addition, this method of unification left changes to the Basic Law open. However, the proven FRG Constitution should not be changed in its essential substance.

Genscher was talking in his old school in Halle on the Second [FRG] German Television broadcast "Journalists Ask—Politicians Answer." He also spoke of the framework within which the two German states had committed themselves to overall consultations and to the renunciation of unilateral surprise actions in discussions among themselves and with the four powers, "which are responsible for Germany as a whole." In his remarks on Article 23, he emphatically stressed that German unification was only possible with the trust of all involved and with that of the neighboring states.

Democracy Now Spokesman Sends Letter to Kohl

AU0903093590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Mar 90 p 2

[ND report: "Konrad Weiss to Kohl: No Incentives for Resettlers"]

[Text] East Berlin—Konrad Weiss, spokesman of the Democracy Now citizens' movement, sent an open letter to FRG Chancellor Kohl on Tuesday [6 March]. In this letter he stresses that the citizens' movement considers it necessary to stop the reception procedures for resettlers from the GDR as of 18 March 1990, and to abolish any resulting preferential treatment. Basic democratic changes in the GDR have established a situation in which no one needs to leave his GDR homeland.

Konrad Weiss suggested, among other things, an equalization for GDR resettlers with the FRG citizens in the future with regard to jobs and housing, the payment of unemployment benefits and of social welfare, and in granting loans or tax privileges. Whoever left a secure job in the GDR should not be entitled to unemployment benefits; exceptions should be made only were there are compelling family or humanitarian reasons. Referring to the problem of resettlers from the GDR who came to the FRG after 10 November 1989 and have neither housing nor work, Konrad Weiss called for encouraging them to make a new start in the GDR.

NATO Affiliate Invites FRG, GDR Officials

AU0803180790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Mar 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Invitation to Defense Ministers"]

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The defense ministers of the FRG and the GDR are to explain their security policy ideas concerning intra-German developments to the Defense and Security Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly. This desire of NATO parliamentarians for being briefed first-hand is expressed in identical letters to FRG Defense Minister Stoltenberg and his GDR counterpart Hoffmann. The members of the Defense and Security Committee invited both defense ministers to their next session on 11 May within the framework of the spring conference of the North Atlantic Assembly.

Army Helicopter Flies Patient to Hanover

LD0803203190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1910 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A National People's Army transport helicopter flew a dangerously ill GDR citizen from the Magdeburg regional women's clinic to the Hanover University clinic this evening. This is the first time a GDR Army helicopter has been used for such a rescue flight between the two German states.

The crew of the Mi-8, under the command of Captain Olaf Iltzsche, was accompanied on the flight to the FRG by the Magdeburg hospital's ward doctor who is responsible for the patient. The Hanover University clinic, whose special equipment was needed to save the patient, maintains close contacts with the GDR health service.

SPD's Meckel 'Satisfied' With Talks in U.S.

LD0803193590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1714 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Washington (ADN correspondent)—Markus Meckel, deputy chairman of the GDR SPD [Social Democratic Party], told ADN today that he was satisfied with the talks he and Dr. Hans Misselwitz, the adviser of the SPD executive, held in Washington. The SPD's ideas about the paths to unification of the two German states and Germany's future place in the community of European peoples had been received with great interest in the talks with the State Department and in Congress. This also applied to the rejection of FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl's policy of bringing about unification in an overhasty fashion and without consideration of the GDR's right to self-determination.

In the meetings a large role was played by the different ideas with regard to a united Germany's NATO membership. They had learned the other side's positions better and found starting points for later discussions.

Today's program of the SPD delegation contained further talks at the State Department with, among others, Assistant Secretaries of State Lawrence Eagleburger and Robert Kimmit. In Congress the SPD politicians were the guests of Robert Mitchell, chairman of the Democratic Party caucus in the Senate. At the end of their visit to the United States, Markus Meckel and Horst Ehmke, deputy chairman of the SPD Bundestag group, will hold a news conference.

GDR-Israel Talks Begin in Copenhagen

LD0803155390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1429 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Copenhagen (ADN-Corr.)—A new round of talks for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the GDR and Israel began between diplomats of the two countries in Copenhagen yesterday evening. It marks the continuation of talks which opened in the Danish capital at the end of January and in early February. [passage omitted]

Defense Ministry Spokesman on SS-23 Destruction

AU0903113690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Defense Ministry spokesman Colonel Uwe Hempel by Rene Heilig in East Berlin; date not given: "No Secret Surrounding the Missiles of the National People's Army"]

[Text] [Heilig] Colonel Hempel, there are reports that the National People's Army [NVA] has SS-23 type missiles....

[Hempel] Yes, that is correct.

[Heilig] How many of these missiles are there?

[Hempel] There are 24 missiles, four launch-pads, four cargo trucks, and corresponding technical equipment for maintenance.

[Heilig] Missiles have warheads. What kind of warheads do the NVA's SS-23 have?

[Hempel] They have only nonnuclear warheads.

[Heilig] This kind of missile is mentioned in the INF Treaty. The Soviet Union has stated that its missiles of this type have been completely destroyed....

[Hempel] There is no doubt that this is correct. The Soviet Union is fulfilling the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the liquidation of their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the INF Treaty. Our missiles are not the subject of this agreement.

[Heilig] Thus, one cannot speak of the GDR's violating the treaty. What is being done with the NVA's SS-23 missiles?

[Hempel] They are also being destroyed. Premier Modrow ordered this on 14 December. On 1 February their destruction started.

[Heilig] Where?

[Hempel] In Demen near Schwerin. This is where these weapons are deployed. So far two lunch-pads have been destroyed publicly. SCHWERINER VOLKSZEITUNG reported on this, for instance, and I assume that is where U.S. State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutweiler has gotten the information, which was published on Tuesday [6 March]. This is probably also where the reports in the U.S. press come from.

[Heilig] What is being done with the entire missile complexes?

[Hempel] They will be destroyed by November 1990.

Further on Government Dismissal of Stasi

LD0803200190 Hamburg DPA in German 1850 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Of the 33,121 former staff at the notorious GDR State Security Service [Stasi] headquarters in East Berlin's Normannenstrasse, 29,300 had been dismissed by today. This amounts to 88 percent of its personnel, the GDR news agency ADN reports. Around 2,300 staff of the former Stasi headquarters have been transferred to GDR border units. Documents have been cleared from 17 of the 39 Normannenstrasse complex service units, and inspection and removal are in progress in another 14. A start has now been made on wiping phonetic data carriers [phonetische datentraeger].

According to ADN, dissolution of the Stasi's East Berlin area office has now been completed. Preparations are currently being made to transform the building into a health center.

The report says that the working group on security at the East Berlin roundtable today accused various ministries of manipulation and preferential treatment for former Stasi employees in the planned sale of houses, apartments, and whole estates. The working group also criticized attempts to place former Stasi members and employees of SED executives in a number of enterprises and institutions without the approval of the workforce, or obvious necessity.

The working group said that it had reached its limit in its monitoring activity. An appeal went out to the 21 parties, organizations, and movements at the roundtable to send representatives to join the team.

Accusations Against Democratic Awakening's Schnur

Schnur Denies Stasi Ties

LD0803151590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1307 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Democratic Awakening Chairman Wolfgang Schnur rejected the accusation today that he was an informer for the former Stasi. In a statement in defense of his honor, which was read out by Democratic Awakening executive member Rainer Eppelmann at an international press conference, Schnur gives the assurance that he has never worked for the state security service and that he has never received decorations for such services.

According to the Democratic Awakening executive, Schnur himself is in the hospital with a circulatory collapse.

Paper Holds Information on Activities

LD0903114690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0659 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The accusation that Democratic Awakening Chairman Wolfgang Schnur was active as an informant of the former Ministry for State Security (MfS) for the Socialist Unity Party of Germany spy apparatus is nothing new to JUNGE WELT. The editors have several letters with such content, the paper says in its Friday edition. They quote from the letter of a former MfS employee of 9 January this year "that lawyer Schnur was active since at least 1970-71 as an unofficial employee for the MfS, BV [as received] Rostock, Department XX, under the codename of 'Torsten.' He supplied his information to the responsible church department head or the head of department XX." This conspiratorial activity "benefitted him financially and personally as well (authorization of an independent lawyer's office, pressure applied by the MfS on the Ministry for Justice, and several houses in the GDR, for example at Binz, Stralsund, and Berlin)."

The person who sent this letter to JUNGE WELT gave the names of three other MfS employees who can confirm his information. [passage omitted]

Stasi Files Inspection Offered

LD0903115390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1051 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Berlin Citizens' Committee for the Dissolution of the Office of National Security has offered the executive of Democratic Awakening an inspection of the files of the Stasi to clear up the allegations against the party chairman Wolfgang Schnur. It will probably take place next Monday. Executive member Rainer Eppelmann told journalists in Berlin on Friday about a telephone call on this matter. He said that only Schnur himself can deduce the political consequences. First of all, there must be clarity about the facts of the matter. He is counting on the fairness of the voters. The actual occasion of the invitation to the House of Democracy was a review of Eppelmann's activity as minister without portfolio in the Modrow cabinet.

Former Secretary Accuses Schnur

AU0903132190 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Report by Henning von (Dewies) from Rostock]

[Text] A secretary, a former employee of the Ministry of State Security, has spoken up and told the Rostock Radio Station that Wolfgang Schnur [chairman of Democratic Awakening] had worked for the former Department Four in the Ministry of State Security. This department especially dealt with events in church circles. Schnur allegedly worked under the covername Torsten and—which is rather poignant—provided the State Security Service with information about church peace groups and also about Rainer Eppelmann. Schnur reportedly had a so-called blue file in the State Security Service, which showed him to be an active informer. Persons from this circle had also received medals, it was said.

This is a piece of information, which, if it is true, might end Wolfgang Schnur's political career.

By the way, the FRG chancellor seems to have been informed about the Schnur case since Wednesday [7 March]. In a few hours he will appear here in Rostock.

List of Registered Parties for Elections

LD0903160990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0945 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The electoral commission of the GDR finalized on Friday—in accordance with paragraph 14 (1) of the law on the elections to the People's Chamber of the GDR on 18 March 1990—which parties, political associations, and list associations are taking part in the elections, and set down the list number in alphabetical order.

The text of the corresponding official announcement is as follows:

1. Action Alliance United Left [Aktionsbundnis Vereinigte Linke] The Carnations-United Left [Die Nelken-Vereinigte Linke; VL]
2. Alternative Youth List (AJL) [Alternative Jugendliste] DJP-GJ-MJV-FDJ [Deutsche Jugendpartei, German Youth Party—Grune Jugend, Green Youth—Marxist Youth Association—Free Deutsche Jugend, Free German Youth]
3. "Alliance 90" [Bundnis 90] NF-DJ-IFM [Neues Forum, New Forum—Demokratie Jetzt, Democracy Now—Initiative Frieden und Menschenrechte, Initiative for Peace and Human Rights]
4. League of Free Democrats [Bund Freier Demokraten] DFP-LDP-FDP [Deutsche Forumpartei, German Forum Party—Liberal-Demokratische Partei, Liberal Democratic Party—Freie Demokratische Partei, Free Democratic Party]
5. League of Socialist Workers (BSA) [Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter) German Section of the 4th Internationale
6. Christian-Democratic Union of Germany (CDU) [Christlich- Demokratische Union Deutschlands]
7. Christian League [Christliche Liga]
8. Democratic Farmer's Party of Germany (DBD) [Demokratische Bauernpartei Deutschlands]
9. "Democratic-Awakening—Social and Ecological" (DA) [Demokratischer Aufbruch]
10. Democratic Women's League of Germany (DFD) [Demokratischer Frauenbund Deutschlands]
11. German Beer Drinkers Union (DBU) [Deutsche Biertrinker Union]
12. German Social Union (DSU) [Deutsche Soziale Union]
13. "Unity Now" [Einheit Jetzt]
14. European Federalist Party Europe Party (EFP) [Europaische Foderalistische Partei Europa Partei]
15. Europe-Union of the GDR (Eu of the GDR) [Europa-Union der DDR]
16. "Green Party-Independent Women's Association"

Green Party-UFV [Grune Partei Unabhangiger Frauenverband]

17. Communist Party of Germany (KPD) [Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands]
18. National-Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD) [National- Demokratische Partei Deutschlands]
19. Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) [Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus]
20. Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands]
21. Spartacist-Workers Party of Germany (SPAD) [Spartakist- Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands]
22. Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USPD) [Unabhangige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands]
23. Independent People's Party (UVP) [Unabhangige Volkspartei]
24. Association of Working Circles for Employee Policy and Democracy (VAA) [Vereinigung der Arbeitskreise fur Arbeitnehmerpolitik und Demokratie]

[Dated] Berlin, 9 March 1990
[Signed] Petra Blaess, chairwoman of the Electoral Commission of the GDR

New Forum Rules Out Coalition with PDS

LD0803151390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1250 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A coalition with the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] is out of the question for New Forum, the top candidates of the citizens' movement, Professor Dr. Jens Reich and People's Chamber candidate Eberhard Seidel, stated today. New Forum would not help this party to have a share in the government after only three months following the total bankruptcy of its old politics. PDS Chairman Gregor Gysi, according to the New Forum politicians, made a coalition offer on Wednesday evening to the movements allied in the "Alliance 90" at an election rally in Magdeburg.

PDS Platform Calls for Maximum Democracy

AU0703132590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Mar 90 p 3

[Huebner report: "Preserving Maximum Democracy After Elections"]

[Text] Berlin—After the People's Chamber elections on 18 March, a maximum of democratic opportunities is to be preserved in the GDR, for example, the roundtable and independent state-controled media. The results of the land reform should also be secured. This was advocated by the participants in a conference of the Communist Platform in the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], who came from all bezirks, over the weekend [3-4 March]. These objectives not only require parliamentarian policy, but also the active representation of interests by the working people themselves. Only an independent GDR guarantees that our country will not become the FRG's social backyard during the economic reform, and it will make demilitarization possible, it was stated.

In the past few weeks, the Communist Platform, which is already represented in more than 150 kreises, provided many comrades with an ideological home and thus helped to overcome speechlessness and inactivity and to renew the party, it was stated. These opportunities of the "first train" have now been exhausted. In the future, the platform wants to increasingly provide concepts for the party. One of the main tasks is to prevent the awakening from the fall of 1989 from becoming stuck in bourgeois parliamentarianism. The platform sees itself as the mediator between sympathizers and other leftist forces in the East and West. This was proven by guests from the Communist Party of Germany, the Spartacist-Workers Party, and from West Berlin, who attended the conference.

New Magdeburg PDS Chairwoman Elected

AU0703145190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Mar 90 p 3

[Poetzsch report: "Magdeburg: The PDS 'Chief' Is Now A Woman"]

[Excerpts] Magdeburg—"Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS]—The New One," the young one, which is still unpracticed in democracy in its own ranks—this is how it presented itself at the beginning of the Magdeburg bezirk delegates conference on Saturday [3 March]. [passage omitted]

After the election and a necessary runoff ballot, it was certain that the PDS Magdeburg Bezirk organization will be headed by a woman in the future. New chairwoman Dr. Rosemarie Hein is 37 years old, married, and the mother of two children. She is a teacher and has a doctor's degree in the field of art.

Democratic Awakening Political Broadcast

LD0803225290

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1850 GMT on 8 March carries a 15-minute "Democratic Awakening" [DA] party political broadcast. An unidentified presenter introduces (Brigitte Koegler), deputy chairwoman of DA, a lawyer; Rainer Eppelmann, minister without portfolio, executive member of the party, and pastor; and Dr. Bernd Findeis, also deputy chairman of DA, and a doctor.

Eppelmann says that Wolfgang Schnur should have been present, but he is in the hospital because of a circulatory collapse; he has been under great physical and mental strain due to the personal attacks made against him recently.

The presenter asks (Koegler) whether it was true that a left-wing counterdemonstration at a DA election rally in Karl-Marx-Stadt last week had to be broken up with billy clubs. She replies that there were no such clashes. It is regrettable that there are instances of boorish behavior in the election campaign, she says.

Pointing out that Von Weizsaecker yesterday warned against an overhasty unification of the two German states, the presenter asks Eppelmann about his views. He says in some ways DA is in favor of haste, for example, the monetary union and economic community, but in other matters, for example political unification, more time is needed.

(Koegler), asked if she favors an unconditional annexation of the GDR to the FRG, replies that annexation is the wrong word to use. She says that the FRG Basic Law is a good constitution, containing the principles of freedom and democracy, and there is no sense in writing a new one. It should not just be taken over immediately, as a transition period is needed, she states.

The presenter asks Dr. Findeis about the psychological aspects of German unification. He says GDR citizens are worried about the social consequences, for example, in the health service. The morale of doctors and nurses has suffered greatly recently. Psychiatry must be deideologized.

Eppelmann is asked how people can be reassured about unemployment. He says there is already unemployment, and due to the catastrophic economic policy of the past 45 years there will be more unemployment in the further restructuring of the economy. Unemployment benefit exists, and in sectors such as the chemical industry new factories will be set up to provide jobs. He calls on people to remain in the GDR. Eppelmann underlines the need for a fair election campaign in which people with different political views should be allowed to express them.

No matter how guilty Honecker is of the offences he has been accused of, he should be treated humanely.

(Koegler) is asked why DA has not made a statement on the Polish Western border. She says the border is a fact beyond dispute and is referred to in the DA election program. DA wants to see a united Germany in a united Europe, she states.

Modrow Notes 'Success' in Newspaper Interview

LD0903094990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0208 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Despite his short time in office, there had been success in creating stability, "as the parties and groups represented in the government have the trust of a broad range of supporters." This was how GDR Premier Hans Modrow summed up matters in reply to a question from JUNGE WELT.

In the interview, which was published on Friday, the head of the government went on to say: "In my work in government I have noticed that everyone's sense of responsibility has grown. Even in the case of ministers without portfolio, everyone has still sought his own sphere of work."

Asked about guarantees from Mikhail Gorbachev that an anschluss of the GDR to the FRG under Article 23 of the Basic Law will not take place, Modrow said: "That is, in the first instance, not for the Soviet Union, but for the formula two plus four. The joint responsibility of the six countries lies here. The Soviet Union will in any case do whatever it can for the instigation of this process of two plus four."

Asked about his personal ambition to go down in history, he said: "My thoughts have never gone in this direction. My first concern was always—and this is the only way one can explain a government of national responsibility—that at this time one individual is not important, but rather people who bear the responsibility together."

In conclusion, Modrow said in reply to a question about the performance of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism], of which he is honorary chairman, on the elections on 18 March: "Whatever happens, I think that in the days remaining before the elections the citizens of the GDR will begin to think even more deeply. The great unknown is the 40 or so percent of electors who are as yet undecided as to for whom, or even whether, they will vote. I wish that many citizens would not simply note the big headlines and loud noises, but that they hear in particular the very quiet ones."

* DER SPIEGEL Notes Modrow's Past

90EG0170A Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 44 No 7, 12 Feb 90 pp 98-100

[Cordt Schnibben article: "'Rowdy Crowds of Rioters'"]

[Text] Hans Modrow is the most recent hero of the hour. Media, opposition and the Dresden Independent Investigative Commission have agreed that their prime minister first came into the world on 13 November 1989. He has been chosen along with many brave ministers to hold the GDR together until election day.

What was there before?

On 8 October 1989 at 1100, Hans Modrow received a teletype from Erich Honecker. Text: "There were demonstrations in the course of the day yesterday in various districts, especially in the Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Halle, Erfurt, and Potsdam districts. They were directed against the constitutional foundation of our socialist republic."

"Above all, in Dresden, Plauen, and Leipzig, they had the character of rowdy crowds of rioters and violent offenses which unsettle our citizens most highly. It must be assumed that further riots will take place. They are to be neutralized from the beginning."

Honecker directed Modrow and the other 14 district secretaries to institute the necessary steps. The first: "immediate meeting of the Einsatzleitungen (emergency command), during which the situation in the district will be evaluated, and appropriate measures will be determined."

Under the chairmanship of Modrow, the local state security (Stasi) leaders, the council chairmen, and the police chief all sit in the Dresden district emergency command. The command issued an order at 1515 to its police that crowds of rowdys, antisocial, and past convicts should be expected, and order and security are to be maintained under all circumstances.

At 1700, battalions of police advanced on the Dresden Fetscherplatz against thousands of demonstrators. "The people were absolutely peaceful," says Major Gerd-Uwe Malchow, Commander of the Bereitschaftspolizei (Alert Police), "they stood around, they sat around. But our mission was: as many arrests as possible. They must be loaded on the trucks in goosestep."

What then happened to the citizens in the police barracks, says the commander, "was dreadful since they really hadn't done anything." They were beaten up and interrogated in garages and shower rooms, forced up and down stairs like cattle, tortured for hours with widespread legs and bend over forwards, so tormented that one alert policeman later wrote to his minister: "it is particularly unnerving how women, girls and elderly people were hit by these people (it could not be 'humans' any more)."

The day which began with Honecker's order ended for the district emergency commander Modrow with an order by the people. The demonstrators in center city Dresden ultimately demanded peaceful dialogue. At

2200, a black limousine drove into the crowd, its one-time bishop and superintendent, and announced preparedness by the state authorities to end the forced silence.

The peace of Dresden decided the battle of Leipzig. Erich Honecker led that battle on the next day, 9 October. For a week, the state power of the GDR had tried the Chinese solution and determined that the problems of the country could no longer be solved with force.

From 3-8 October, a daily growing contingent of police and soldiers—the western public never learned of that—arrested ever more demonstrators without chasing the people away from the streets. For up to five days, a total of 1,303 people were delivered to state torture.

On 8 October, the state's power was gone, at least in Dresden. More and more of the alert policemen, draftees in the GDR without special training in beating people, were laying down their clubs. The more peaceful the demonstrators, the more powerfully resounding the hesitation: "We are not hitting them anymore." According to Major Malchow, as the news of the beginning of discussions reached the emergency headquarters, even the commanders hugged one another out of joy.

Hans Modrow was stuck in this test of power in a homespun malicious manner. A member of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] for over 40 years, mostly serving 150-percent as an official for agitation and propaganda, he also stood true to the cause in this last week of uninterrupted domination by the party.

Modrow, the German master of the secondary virtues, who based his view of the world on "responsibility," "duty," "order," and "security," did not see the harbinger of a new democracy in the demonstrators, but rather the "enemy" of incited disturbers of the peace.

While the clubs were crashing on 6 October outside of the Dresden Kulturpalast, Modrow was inside, praising the fact that the GDR was a democratically legitimized state like none other, and condemned the wave of refugees as an example of how West Germany deals with human lives. That all belongs to the concept those western politicians who talk about "keeping open the German question" and are preoccupied with illusions of Great Germany.

Modrow had received a Chinese delegation the day before as the state was again beating up the people. He stated there that both countries stood side by side in the battles of this day, now more than ever because "imperialism with especially aggressive anticommunism" is trying to oppose the efforts of socialism in the realization of its society.

The Chinese had responded to a visit by Modrow, who was the first GDR politician able to accept the glad thanks of Chinese party leadership "for the stance in solidarity of the SED and the entire people of the GDR with the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party in this difficult phase," a few weeks after the massacre in Peking. Modrow was informed at that time about the details of the "antisocialist turmoil," and then he went down to Kwangtung province for vacation.

The Dresden district boss has been the Chinaman among the SED big men for years. Slit-eared socialism from the far empire fascinated him, as did the undogmatic policies of capitalist economic zones which were to be the model for his Dresden.

Major Malchow considers it state security malice that the most severe conflicts broke out between the old power and the new times precisely in October in the supposedly reform-minded Modrow's district. "It was insanity to route the trains with the Prague embassy occupiers through Dresden," believes the police chief. "They wanted to incite the people in order to take them away."

On specific orders of the Stasi headquarters in Berlin, the refugee trains were routed through the Dresden Main Train Station instead of on side tracks. Police deployed there on 4-5 October reported that some of the particularly obstinate demonstrators presented themselves as colleagues with their Stasi identification after they were pursued and apprehended. As district emergency commander, Hans Modrow already bore the responsibility about which he now speaks so often.

Real demonstrators wound up in the police barracks into the hands of guards specially furnished from the Bautzen correctional facility, who went wild against the enemies of the state. The counterrevolutionaries, one of them in a wheelchair, had to sit for hours in the Chinese manner, with the head sunk down and their arms folded over the nape of the neck. Movements were punished with kicks and truncheon blows. Public prosecutors and Stasi people conducted the interrogations, while handing out blows and death threats.

The intimidation machine of the staggering state power ran at full speed, state security and police and justice and punishment and party and Army gave their support. Hans Modrow personally called on Defense Minister Heinz Kessler for army units.

The soldiers stood around Dresden in readiness, police in bullet-proof vests secured city hall and advanced on the demonstrators on 5 October when they cleared the square in front of the train station.

The next day, as Modrow stood before the employees of the State Theatre for questions and answers, the good man from Dresden deeply disappointed the theatre people. "He tried to talk away the events with old functionary's Chinese," said stage manager Wolfgang Engel, "spoke about 'enemies' and 'rowdys.'"

When resistance against Honecker finally arose in the politburo of his party, Modrow also became bolder. Only after Honecker was toppled, he began to get involved in politics in the Berlin headquarters. He was supposed to move into the politburo, which he also certainly wanted, as Secretary of Agriculture. This was to be a secure position to be able to survive the downfall of the new general secretary.

Egon Krenz, the only comical figure in the bitterly serious revolution, wanted a man wise in the ways of the world with manager qualities for GDR prime minister—Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski. The GDR was only spared an even earlier demise because Golodkowski, in the meantime prosecuted as a state gangster, himself indicated that he was involved in not exactly state-supporting enterprises, and in addition Michael Gorbachev repeatedly inquired into Modrow's condition. And so Modrow could become the foster father of the revolution.

Freed from Krenz and cut loose of the party which he only served as a body on the party list, the district secretary climbed up to the dominating figure of this people's rebellion, despite all the hateful tirades of his party against it.

In the three months of Modrow's rule—we would rather say administration—he has provided no vision, not once a perspective for the GDR. But he has dutifully done what the Monday demonstrators shouted out for from him. He did not serve a politburo any more, but rather the people, at least as much as it spoke, and that founded his popularity.

As he once, just once, tried to leave the path of the people and, ever the old security fanatic, endeavored to install the security service, he was almost done for.

Modrow was at the high point of his power when he drove in the state limousine into the middle of the plundering masses in front of the Berlin Stasi headquarters. The rabble yelled "red pig!" and beat dents into the car roof as long as he sat in it. He had hardly stepped out of the protecting cage when the crowd respectfully parted in front of him and allowed the determined viewers storm through them. Both opposition hopefuls Ibrahim Boehme and Konrad Weiss were to the left and right of him arm in arm. Of course, they were not protecting him, but he was dragging them along.

He allowed the outcry that rose up against him as he stepped up to speak on the small speakers' platform resonate for a minute. He was not arrogant but resolute. The future of the country fastened onto one another behind his back. Boehme, Meckel, Weiss, and Eppelmann, moaning and shaking waiting for the first stone to fly.

"I came here," Modrow called to the tempestuous mob, "in my responsibility as Prime Minister of this country." Silence. "Tables and chairs are not guilty. Let us use them for sensible purposes in peace and order." Applause.

Modrow is responsible for the fact that the GDR popular revolt remained a recreation-time revolution. The people would rather leave the country than make even more work for the industrious man at the top.

He is the least common denominator in the GDR. At the latest, however, one day after the election when he is not needed any more, his past will be taken up and come across a speech by Modrow in an internal meeting of the SED Central Committee on 18 October, 10 days after the Dresden week of force:

"No one can have any doubt that I bore the responsibility of chairman of the district emergency command at that time, in that phase, and that I also tried to meet that responsibility with all that was necessary in these battles, together with the comrades of the National People's Army, the Armed Forces, and our security organizations."

Gysi Rejects Western Attacks on Modrow

AU0703124590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Mar 90 p 1

[ND/ADN report: "Full Program for Gysi on the Weekend"]

[Excerpt] Berlin (ND/ADN)—In a historically difficult situation for the country, Hans Modrow, frontrunner of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], embodies the hope of many citizens for a better future. This was stated by Party Chairman Gregor Gysi at a political meeting in Berlin-Hellersdorf on Sunday morning [4 March]. Addressing the Western media, he stressed that the PDS will not tolerate further attacks on Modrow. In the overcrowded hall of the house of the parties, he said that an anschluss of the GDR to the FRG is out of the question for the PDS. [passage omitted]

Gysi on Policies, Unification

AU0903140890 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 9 Mar 90 pp 31-32

[Interview with Gregor Gysi, chairman of the GDR Party of Democratic Socialism, by Hans Janitschek in East Berlin; date not given]

[Text] [Janitschek] The Socialist Unity Party of Germany no longer exists. It can be heard everywhere in the West that the new party, the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], is no more than a successor organization.

[Gysi] I would not call it a successor, because we left more behind than we took with us. We got rid of Stalinism, gave up monopolies, and eliminated the monopoly on the leading role in the GDR Constitution. We gave up the claim to truth. We are looking for it. We know that history only knows one truth and we have to accept it. Whoever does not do so will find time catching up with him. We had to accept this painful experience and will not forget it.

[Janitschek] But is there not the danger that things might be forgotten or, let us say, suppressed?

[Gysi] In the past few weeks, we have experienced and gone through so many things that we hardly are in danger of falling back into old thought patterns. By the way, I am sure that a sufficient number of friendly and less friendly hints would be given, it this were the case.

[Janitschek] What place do you take now in the spectrum of GDR parties?

[Gysi] Spectrum is a good expression. The present conditions in the GDR have often been compared with those in the Weimar Republic—though not in a very conclusive way, I think. Alone because of the multitude of parties that were established in our country, this comparison suggests itself. Now we have almost 40 parties. A "victory" over Weimar. Most of the parties are crowded in the center of the party scene. We do not tend toward the center, we want to be a German socialist party. We are leftist and democratic. We have remembered our origins—we have come back to Marx—without forgetting others. We know that our roots are in the German and international workers movement, but we neither want to be the party of a class nor the vanguard of a nation. We are a party which is developing—it is new but not yet completely finished. What we are already is a community of solidarity which we never were before. And what we will always be is a party of peace. We have given up monopolies; what we will never be is a party of monopolies.

[Janitschek] Let us come to the point. Is socialism dead and on the rubbish heap of history?

[Gysi] Well, you know, socialism is an idea and ideas die hard. What is dead is socialism of the Stalinist type or, as we called it, "really existing socialism." Stalinist dogmatism corrupted democracy, and today suffice it to say "socialism" for being suspected. This makes me sad. All right, we have to clearly realize from now on: Something that does not sustain the pressure of time does not have the power to survive and necessarily ends up—you said on the rubbish heap—I would say on the ash heap of history. In my opinion, there is no useless history. History is neither good nor bad, neither negative nor positive. For me it is the mirror of human development. Therefore, I prefer the term ash heap because so many things were burned in the course of time, and this will not stop. I believe that sometimes the ashes of history, even the burned fields, can be a good fertilizer for the future. The end of "really existing socialism" was the end of an illusion, not the death of a vision.

[Janitschek] Speaking of visions, I also think of a Germany that will be united sooner or later. What is your party's attitude toward this?

[Gysi] There are hardly four walls in the GDR between which this topic is not discussed. The people think about it, the parties canvass for it. The question has become a topic in the election campaign. My party's position on this is clear: We want the two German states to come together without haste. What frightens me is the increasing speed at which this objective is being pursued. I know exactly what I do not want: I do not want things that can grow together to be nailed together. I do not want an anschluss at the price of my dignity. I do not want to be pocketed. I do not want the GDR's people to tumble into unity and to experience a rude awakening.

[Janitschek] That is to say, there are after all reservations as regards a big D on the license plates in East and West?

[Gysi] No reservations, but proposals—and demands. A point that we will not give up, not for anything in the world, is respecting the European borders as they are today, without ifs and buts. But the road toward this big D, as you called it, or any form in which this Germany is advertised, must not bypass Europe. The Germans' coexistence is to promote peaceful relations between all Europeans. We want a European home; we not only want to overcome the division of Germany, but also the division of Europe.

[Janitschek] And what do you not want?

[Gysi] I do not want somebody who thinks of Germany in the night not to sleep.... However, talking without emotions, I am a lawyer. If I only take the problems of this circle, there is so much work that one thing must be clear to everybody who deals seriously with it: This is not work that can be done in a day, it is rather the work of a lifetime. Nothing can be settled for the GDR citizen by the GDR's anschluss to the FRG alone. We need correct negotiations that result in treaties with which the citizens in East and West can live. In short, what we need from the legal point of view is a new Germany with a new law in which no citizen fears losing the rights to which he is accustomed. What we need in the first place is a treaty-based community. It could be the basis for the growing together of what belongs together, as Mr Brandt put it. Therefore, no patchwork, please.

[Janitschek] You refer to Willy Brandt. What is your attitude toward the social democrats in East and West?

[Gysi] We talked about old mistakes. Let me mention a new advantage. Our party is not afraid of getting in touch with others, and I wish all would think this way. We do not want to dominate, we do not want to be the leaders, we want to discuss things as an equal among equals. We are openly in favor of cooperation with all leftist and democratic forces in our country. We do not want to be a competitor, but a partner before and after the elections. As regards the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], I am decidedly in favor of relations of partnership. We are able to form an alliance and advocate constructive relations between the two parties. We advocate culture in politics and the shaping of policies by political means.

[Janitschek] Does this include the "election campaign from the outside?"

[Gysi] There is a Roundtable decision which rejects the election campaign from the outside. The PDS and other parties adhere to it, others do not. I do not want to evaluate this in detail, it speaks for itself. However, one thing has to be said. We are sick of the FRG election campaign on our territory. What we need now is a cool head to reasonably solve the really urgent problems. Emotions in the election campaign are not a substitute for rational thinking; I do not like this. Therefore, I repeat the proposal that the Bundestag elections should be held earlier, while electioneering in the GDR is stopped.

[Janitschek] What role will the PDS play in a future united Germany?

[Gysi] This is an open question. As you know, it is not the first open question in German history. I think that it will be a positive role. Let us leave the rest open for the future, where the answer is to be found. We also gave up the pretension to know everything.

[Janitschek] One last question. What is it like sitting in Honecker's room?

[Gysi] I do not know. I do not sit there, therefore I also do not sit in his chair.

* DER SPIEGEL Profiles SPD's Boehme

90EG0170B Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 44 No 7, 12 Feb 90 pp 102-104

[Hans-Joachim Noack article: "'All of Us Are Damaged'"]

[Text] A picture in which the contrast leaps to the eyes: in the dreariness of a hideously decayed urban landscape, a man in smart pinstripes and vest and ruffled gentleman's hankerchief like at a wedding going down the street. Steel bars from construction scaffolding block his way, he must run the slalom. While he speaks uninterruptedly, two adolescents hanging on in the diminishing crowd are trying to write the sentence fragments which are difficult to comprehend.

What appears as slapstick is the new form of a press conference: in his ruined East Berlin home district of Prenzlauer Berg, the SPD [Social Democratic Party] politician Ibrahim Boehme explains the situation to two reporters from a school newspaper.

It concerns Germany, one fatherland—and whenever the leader of the GDR Social Democrats takes a position on that, the passion ignites in his tongue like at the press of a button. He takes off running even when small amounts of time do not actually permit it: no one is too little for him, that he would not be prepared to win him over with full devotion.

"Therefore the German question," says Boehme, and he twists excitedly to precise cheeks to then explain to the teenagers from Glienicke "the world-power strategies which are still valid." No one would believe, it leaves him forcefully, that Russia will agree to what "for example this Mr. Genscher has thought up regarding NATO."

No. The East Sozi (Social Democrat) believes it is deceptive to imagine a united Germany, of which only half would remain anchored in the Western alliance. "Write it down," he advised the grammar-school boys—"but please be cautious with the word Neutrality," as that is of course "still a buzzword right now."

For the rest of this early day—Saturday of the past week—he will be all mouth among the party friends. Passionately, as befits his natural manner, Boehme talked far enough about the point of irritation in another interview that Radio DDR put him in the lead story of the news broadcast: the SPD leader, at least so it sounded, on this point of united German future, the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] head of state.

That did not matter to him. The next day, the small figure reaches high as he turns his usual rounds chatting in the lobby of the East Berlin Academy of the Arts. Should he judge who will—he, Boehme, "in detailed questions absolutely has the right, as much as Modrow or even Franz Josef Strauss."

A newcomer to party politics is trying to fly high. With the attitude of the man who is always self conscious, the 45-year-old historian, theatrical scientist and dramatist is trying to reinforce the foundation of his four-month-old GDR-SPD which is still rocking. He is leading and riding pretty well with it.

In Germany-East, much is possible in these tumultuous times, and it may be that a man will break through the clouds who recently had to survive as a cook for a while, a sawmill worker for a while. The multi-talented Ibrahim Boehme—it seems almost certain—will rise to a key position after the first free elections of 18 March.

Ibrahim Boehme, should his Social Democrats triumph, for president even? Naturally, he is still calming down—he will "be effective wherever my party places me," but there are powerful forces on him, and his party comrades know it. The SPD spokesman Steffen Reiche has created the position title of "our unelected chairman" for the party leader.

If a politician judged his importance by the degree of public recognition, (Boehme) can hardly be in any danger. Firm and often at the edge of exhaustion, the quick self portrayer swarms from appointment to appointment, chainsmoking along the way. Boehme in Bonn or Tutzing, where he learns about working within a party, Boehme in Paris because he wanted to meet the French head of state along with Vaclav Havel.

A life in emergency situation. It is routine for the climber, as he founded the work association "Young Social Democrats" and made the welcoming speech, to then appear in his coal bin in order to get coal out of the cellar for the sick elderly. Because of his fine outfit, he carriers the pails held out away from his clothes—the Netherlands ambassador is waiting.

The Bonn SPD Bundestag representative Gert Weisskirchen, member of a recently formed liaison subcommittee between the two sister parties, praised the freshness and innocence of the East-colleague. Boehme has found himself again "out of the misery of his earlier autobiography like an Alice in Wonderland in the new political structure." Astonished like a child, he wants to participate in forming them.

In any case: the "sympathetic mix of remaining alternative movement and new professionalism" attributed to him is not free of flaws which partly run through the individual person. His past life remains so sketchy and he shows himself to be noticeably stubborn about tracing back his own origins.

The budding leader of the GDR-SPD knows neither where or when he was born ("probably 1944 in Leipzig"), nor does he have any idea who his parents were. Probably, he will only say briefly, the father died "right around 1945" and the mother died two years later after she had married a Boehme.

Who gave him the name Ibrahim, if it is documented correct that his name is Manfred? Rather without enthusiasm, he says it is conceivable that his family tree is Jewish, but he is not interested in that. Perhaps the second wife of his likewise deceased stepfather could provide some information, of course, he "has not seen her since 1982."

Whatever may be persistently suppressed there has certainly found justification in his life. The child who grew up in homes and boarding schools comforts himself by pushing away past individual disappointments while it uncovers the "identity in collectives."

The teachers, who were dedicated to the SED, molded Boehme's view of the world, so he entered the Unity Party in 1967. Shortly thereafter, however, there was the case of Robert Havemann, later the expulsion of Wolf Biermann, and between them above all the Prague reform project. The sympathetic comrade, who was a member of the district leadership of the GDR culture federation, ran into trouble and made himself unpopular, and was finally served with professional revocation.

From that point on began the part of his history from which the nobleman grew. After he returned his party registration book in 1976, the authorities placed the rebellious man under investigative arrest for 15 months. Ibrahim Boehme in the cross-hairs of the state security (Stasi), which brutally beat him in January 1989. The opponent had participated in organizing a demonstration alongside the Rosa-Luxemburg Memorial March.

Stages in a moving life which already appears a bit unreal to him. He laughs. Because then came the "wonder from Schwante," that gathering on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR, when 43 people dared the unheard-of in a village near Oranienburg.

Roughly 120 days have passed in the country since then, and at none of his rallies has the leader of the SDP, later SPD, ever forgotten to invoke this spirit. Schwante stands for all the hopes of helping the weary GDR to a new self understanding.

As Boehme knows and summons up with an expression of professional decisiveness on order, this illegal party founding certainly "was also romance, and bore the seeds of being home-made in itself." Differentiating bodies of opinion have since streamed into the expanding SPD—the "prevailing revolutionaries from Schwante" are beginning to ease into a more complex method of analysis.

A flight in loose singing conversation around the world just to whitewash what he unfortunately can not change? Many things indicate that the history teacher who was unintentionally flung up to be a leading politician ("I am flaming red") already needs to strongly rein in his own ideas.

For example, one passe dream is to hold onto the vision of an oft-proclaimed "third way" in a largely unaffected GDR (in Boehme's words: "strictly two state entities"). The campaigner obligingly announced a minimal program in the gymnasiums and school halls, instead. The SPD sees itself vaguely as the "integration party, which should participate in the therapeutic process of development in our society."

Who is surprised that the established West Bundestag representative Dietrich Stobbe patronizingly confirms his great learning ability. "The young man can do it," he said on the occasion of the founding assembly of the SPD East Berlin district, under the remaining cast iron bust of of Old Father Marx. All the attention which he has absorbed in the few weeks.

Ibrahim Boehme twitches imperceptibly closer—a manner of praising him down to a Bonn dependent, which gets on his nerves. Later, energetically he beats on self determination vis-a-vis a sister party which has been, "as it suddenly appeared, as surprising to us as to the Stasi,"at the "Zur Klause" pub. "Write that down," he tells the reporters of the Glienicke school newspaper.

On the other hand, the party's leading comrade is sensible enough to wait and see in the stormy metamorphosis. "Was bitter," he says softly in the beer glass, how that democratic alliance so recently broke up with which they wanted to step up against the all-powerful SED. The Leftist calls it "amazing and painful" that he overlooked the "national conservative tendencies" in his long-time friend, the DA-Chief Wolfgang Schnur.

Of course, Boehme has contributed his part to the plundering the initial innocence of its great start. The advanced election date, 18 March, is his date, that he negotiated with Modrow's crumbling government. Since then, the rumor spread around in New Forum circles has been hanging around him that he has tried a "social democratic coup d'etat."

That is wrong, he defends himself unsteadily and shoves the accusation quickly out of the way, as he points to the "permanent emergency situation GDR": it will soon be seen that "all of us are damaged." Boehme moans briefly in a moment of brief irritation that he has even destroyed his marriage over it.

How could it be any different—the world is turbulent like never before and a thoroughbred from the same school as the SPD leader will do the necessary clean-up work later. Until then, he asks himself the question of where he will get his "three, four hours of sleep" of the night. Ever since bomb threats followed him, the committee has advised him to stay away from home.

He speaks and smokes, and the constant stress appears to put him in an unending good mood. Ibrahim Boehme, feverish and flighty, as the personified willing victim—but it could also be that precisely this uncoordinated bustle of activity could become his weak point.

Because the sharp eyes of the western SPD professional politicians have already recognized his "relative instability." The "unelected chairman" may have lost some ground as recently as the weekend before last when a good dozen of the top comrades from Bonn sat with their new friend. The full-bearded Markus Meckel is being circulated as better suited, at least for the office of head of government.

But the "Wessis" don't yet determine what remains for the East-SPD party congress at the end of February. The person in question believes it is unlikely that the GDR-Social Democrats would let him step back into the body shortly before the election after building him up for weeks.

Ibrahim Boehme is irritated by reddened eyelids and talks about the times when there was little to prognosticate about. He clearly draws the power of his confidence from "Schwante, October 7th," when a completely different future appeared certain for him. He expected a renewed professional revocation, "perhaps another arrest."

And then "all this overwhelming nonsense."

PDS Position on Compulsory Military Service

AU0903122390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Mar 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Party of Democratic Socialism for a GDR Without Compulsory Military Service"]

[Text] Gysi's proposal to abolish compulsory military service has met with an extremely positive response, in particular among young people. Perhaps this is a reason why other parties are trying to ignore it.

First, disarmament must not be pushed to the margin of public attention. The dangers of a high-technology arms race and the enormous waste of material and intellectual resources are as evident as ever. In particular because of the end of the cold war, the political and military situation permits a unilateral reduction of military arsenals without reducing one's own security or that of the allies.

Second, it is an absolutely urgent task to prevent the intra-German approach from constituting a danger to European stability and the security of our neighbors. By the way, this would also prove to be a serious obstacle to the German unification process itself, which is already shown in the inconsistent attitude of the FRG Government to the Oder-Neisse border. The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] is in favor of Germany's never again, under any circumstances, becoming a threat to other peoples because it will be demilitarized and nonaligned.

Third, we are realists. We know how difficult the personnel situation of the National People's Army [NVA] already is. Our concept is aimed at stabilizing the NVA on a new basis as an Army of volunteers and professionals with civil servant status. The PDS links its disarmament proposals with the demand to guarantee the jobs of all Army members who are doing temporary duty in the NVA. At the same time, a long-term concept has to be worked out for all persons affected to provide comprehensive legal and social safeguards to professional soldiers, for the civilian use of Army facilities, and for the economically and ecologically sensible scrapping of weapons and the transformation of maneuver sites.

New Trade Union Law Passed by People's Chamber

AU0903095890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Mar 90 p 1

[ND-Fleischmann report: "Trade Union Codetermination Rooted in Constitution and Law"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—The 18th People's Chamber Session which began in Berlin on Tuesday [6 March] has 14 laws on the agenda. The first one to be passed, together with the necessary changes in the Constitution, with a large majority was the law on the rights of the GDR trade unions. It is a law which has been discussed by millions, a law for strong, sovereign industrial trade unions which are willing to and capable of protecting and representing the interests of all colleagues.

Helga Mausch, chairwoman of the Acting Executive Committee of the Free German Trade Union Federation, said, substantiating the law: "We proceed from the premise that every trade union activity is inevitably embedded within the framework that is set down by the state Constitution. On the other hand, no legal regulation except the Constitution may restrict or encroach upon the trade unions' rights."

The discussion provided proposals in particular on shaping the right to arbitration in case of labor disputes.

Kaete Niederkirchner said, outlining the standpoint of the Party of Democratic Socialism: "Strong trade unions are indispensable for ensuring the social interests of the working people in a German-German confederation."

From the contents of the first GDR trade union law:

Autonomy concerning wages: The trade unions are entitled to conclude contracts and agreements on all issues affecting the working people's working and living conditions. Their autonomy concerning wages is ensured.

Independence: Trade union enterprises are permitted to exercise their rights in the enterprises at any time and without impediments. They have the right to read enterprise documents as far as this serves the observation and promotion of the working people's working and living conditions.

Codetermination: The trade unions have the right to make an initiative for laws. Laws on the working and living conditions have to be worked out by state organs with the trade unions' participation. The basic trade union organizations have the right to participation in decisionmaking concerning all issues that affect working and living conditions. The enterprise trade union leaderships conclude enterprise collective contracts and other agreements with the enterprise managers after prior discussion in the work collectives; the enterprise managers have to account for the fulfillment of these contracts and agreements.

Labor disputes: In order to settle collective labor disputes, the parties to the collective agreement have to agree on an arbitration process.

Right to strike: The trade unions have the right to strike. A strike is permissible only after arbitration procedures have been carried out. The government may suspend a strike for reasons of public welfare. Any kind of lockout is forbidden. Compensation during labor disputes is not allowed.

Rights in the enterprise: In their work, enterprise trade union representatives enjoy protection against any kind of discrimination. They are to be granted leave from their job as far as this is necessary to carry out their tasks in an orderly way, depending on the size of the enterprise.

As a result of the amendment to Article 44, the trade unions' right to strike is ensured by the Constitution, and any form of lockout is forbidden. [passage omitted]

Daily Views New Law

AU0903094290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Mar 90 p 1

[Uwe Stemmler commentary: "Guarantees"]

[Text] The trade union law and corresponding change in the Constitution were passed by the People's Chamber yesterday. This was certainly a success for the working people in our country—even though not everyone may already be aware of the full consequences. With this pegs have been driven in which will prevent the market economy from unrestrictedly overflowing at the cost of the workers in the future.

Trade union codetermination in all questions that affect the working people's working and living conditions has been fixed by law. The same goes for the means of struggle to implement the interests. The right to strike and the prohibition of any form of lockout have not only been set down by law but also by the Constitution. This means that a two-thirds majority in a future People's Chamber would be necessary to eliminate these regulations again. At the same time, the support for trade union work by the enterprises and the protection against dismissal of trade union functionaries have been set down.

Certainly, in addition to the trade union law, further regulations have to be made to ensure the representation of the working people's interests. Some enterprise collectives prefer to have their concerns represented by shop stewards. Therefore, their work also has to be regulated by law—not only by a copy of the FRG Works Constitution Act. And, not least, arbitration needs a legal framework.

Nevertheless, the People's Chamber decision has established a legal guarantee for future trade union work which may contribute to a flourishing but socially ensured market economy, in the results of which everyone will have a share.

New Trade Union Chairpersons Elected

AU0703135690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Mar 90 p 3

[Fischer/ADN report: "Trade Unions Want To Fight Against Social Cuts"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ND)—Over the weekend [3-4 March], at the extraordinary delegates conference of the Printing and Paper Trade Union, Werner Peplowski was reelected chairman of the industrial trade union by a vast majority of votes. In the new articles, about which the 266 delegates had a controversial and passionate discussion, the industrial trade union calls itself an autonomous, free, and independent trade union. [passage omitted]

In a basic motion, the participants in the conference advocated that the Printing and Paper Trade Union should gradually unite with the Art Trade Union to form a uniform media, art, printing, and paper trade union.

Bernau (ADN)—Over the weekend, at its extraordinary delegates conference in Bernau, the Agriculture, Foodstuffs, and Forestry Trade Union adopted its own articles and has thus become independent. Marianne Sandig was reelected chairwoman. [passage omitted]

Young Volunteers, Other New Groups Founded

AU0903110290 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Mar 90 p 2

[Text] The Association of Young Volunteers (VJF) has been founded in Berlin. The statute mentions as focal points, among other things, meetings on different topics, such as environmental protection, antifascism, social aid, and charitable work to be done together with foreign volunteers.

Over the weekend a professional association of GDR prosecutors was founded in Berlin. Jergen Bischoff, public prosecutor of the Berlin-Friedrichshain City District, was elected chairman.

Working groups of the Society for Endangered Peoples have constituted themselves in Bautzen and Dresden. The society sees the concern of its work in combating all crimes which are aimed at destroying the language, culture, and ethnic identity of minorities, or to annihilate them physically.

State Bank Official on Foreign Currency Accounts

AU0903110890 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Bruno Meier, vice president of the GDR State Bank, by unidentified ADN reporter; date not given: "Illegal Exchange Continues to Flourish"]

[Excerpts] [ADN] For two months, money in Deutsche marks from the foreign currency travel fund has been paid to GDR citizens. What is the state of affairs?

[Meier] By the end of February DM1.9 billion had been paid from this fund. Thus, 85 percent of our citizens have acquired Deutsche marks from the foreign currency travel fund; only about 70 percent exchanged the full amount of DM200 or DM100 for children at an exchange rate of 1:1 and 1:5, and about 30 percent of the citizens at first exchanged only the partial amount at a rate of 1:1. Mostly the citizens bought the Deutsche marks in GDR banks and savings banks. In the banks in the FRG and West Berlin, only some 1.2 percent from the foreign currency travel fund were exchanged.

[ADN] Is some of the money being saved?

[Meier] Since the beginning of the year 127,000 foreign currency accounts have been opened. The assets have reached DM350 million. About 90 percent of people who have a savings account have an account where the money can be withdrawn at a moment's notice, with an interest rate of 2.5 percent, and 10 percent have an account where the money is tied down for one year, with an interest rate of four percent. [passage omitted]

[ADN] How much is the offer for citizens from the FRG and West Berlin as well as other visitors from abroad to purchase GDR marks at a rate of 1:3 used?

[Meier] About half a million citizens have used this offer. Revenues amount to DM18 million.

[ADN] Are you satisfied with this?

[Meier] If one considers the high number of visitors, not at all! Measured by the turnover of these citizens in trade, in restaurants, and in cultural institutions, this is a relatively small sum.

NDPD on Medium-Sized Enterprises

AU0903105890 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Mar 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "From the Election Program of the National Democrats"]

[Text] National Democratic Party of Germany: Healthy Medium-Sized Enterprises—Prosperity for the Entire Country

Therefore: Unhindered development of crafts, trade, and business;

Free reign for efficient medium-sized enterprises;

Performance stimulating regulations for taxes, prices, rates, and loans;

Free access to the acquisition of equipment, material, and buildings;

No discrimination of family members who help in the enterprise;

For free professional associations with democratically elected representations.

New Writers Union Secretary Appointed

LD0803194290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1435 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dirk von Kuegelgen has been appointed by the Executive to be the secretary of the GDR Writers' Union.

The Executive, elected at the extraordinary Union Congress (1-3 March), met on Wednesday [as received] for its first session. It dismissed Gerhard Henniger from his function as first secretary of the union.

First Publication of Suicide Figures

AU0803170990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Mar 90 p 5

[ND-Schmidt report: "GDR Social Report Published]

[Text] East Berlin—For the first time, a GDR publication reveals information about the number of suicides. In 1987 there were 5,005 suicides and in 1988 4,768. However, the "1990 Social Report," which was presented to the press on Tuesday [6 March] by sociologists of the Academy of Sciences, contains far more information. On 352 pages it offers a comprehensive picture of the social situation in the GDR from the demographic development to the work environment and ecology to the citizens' subjective view and to their political activities. The reader learns, for instance, that in 1983 only 12 percent of the GDR forests were damaged, in 1988 already 44.4 percent and last year 54.5 percent of the forests were damaged. The report also says that the wave of hope in autumn 1989 is now followed by fears concerning the social future.

In the past, the reports, which have been drawn up annually since 1985, were published in only 10 copies and reached exclusively the old party and state leadership. Now the report is to be published in 10,000 copies and is to be available in book shops by the end of April.

MOSCOW NEWS, Youth Magazine Published

AU0903112390 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 7 Mar 90 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "OST-WEST KURIER Available at the Kiosks as of Thursday"]

[Text] As of tomorrow, one more Soviet magazine, OST-WEST KURIER, will be available at GDR kiosks. Like SPUTNIK, the German-language version of the popular MOSCOW NEWS is published by the NOVOSTI press agency and costs 1.20 GDR marks.

Yesterday a new youth magazine, which is called CHANCE and has a print run of 300,000 copies, was published in the GDR. At a press conference on the same day representatives of the Christian-Democratic Youth, the Young Democrats, the Young Social Democrats, and Young Liberal Action stated that this magazine, which is financed exclusively by advertisements, which is free of charge, and which is the joint mouthpiece of these associations, considers itself as an alternative to the daily JUNGE WELT of the Free German Youth.

New Name, Purpose for Military Publisher

AU0703140390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Mar 90 p 3

[ADN report: "Legal Successor of GDR Military Publishing House"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Military Publishing House of the GDR has a new name: Brandenburg Publishing House [Brandenburgisches Verlagshaus]. The institution on Storkower Street in Berlin, the legal successor of the Military Publishing House which was located there before, regards itself as a publishing house for nonfiction, light literature, and magazines. The publications' topics are: current affairs, history, and technology.

'Soviet Sources' on Initial Troop Withdrawal

AU0803215690 Paris AFP in English 2056 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (AFP)—The Soviet Union will begin pulling out its troops from Hungary on Monday [12 March] after an agreement on a total withdrawal by mid-1991 was reached, Soviet sources said here Thursday.

Hungarian Defence Minister Ferenc Karpati said in The Hague on Wednesday that Hungary and the Soviet Union had resolved the remaining problems standing in the way of the troop withdrawal and a formal agreement is expected to be signed in Moscow on Saturday.

53,000 Soviet troops are stationed in the country, according to the minister.

Soviet sources said here that a first motorised infantry battalion will leave the town of Hajmasker, 150 kilometers (90 miles) west of here, by train on Monday at 1000 GMT. Informed Hungarian sources confirmed the report. A ceremony has been scheduled and journalists were invited, according to the sources.

The total number of soldiers and family members to return to the Soviet Union add up to 100,000 people. More than 27,000 vehicles and armoured carriers, 100,000 metric tons of petrol and 730,000 tons of ammunition will also to be taken back.

Soviet sources said all troops and equipment would return to the Soviet Union by the end of August next year. Hungarian officials have insisted that the dateline be brought forward by two months.

10,000 Soviet troops left Hungary last year.

Moscow started pulling out its 80,000 troops from Czechoslovakia late last month.

Delegation Leaves for Moscow Talks

LD0903113290 Budapest MTI in English 1021 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 9 (MTI)—A Hungarian delegation headed by Ferenc Somogyi, under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, and lieutenant general Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff, left for Moscow on Friday to attend the third plenary session of the Hungarian-Soviet expert talks on the pull-out of Soviet troops from Hungary.

The delegation was joined by three observers—Gabor Demszky, Lajos Kosa and Erno Raffay—representing those parties which have put up national lists for the parliamentary elections.

Soviet Natural Gas Supplies To Continue

LD0703160190 Budapest MTI in English 1414 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, Mar 7 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Soviet Union has never stated either at official forums or in professional publications that Soviet gas reserves would be depleted within 10 years. Imre Szabo, state secretary at the Hungarian Ministry of Industry, stressed, pooh-poohing Western press reports.

True, Soviet energy experts believe that by the year 2000—perhaps even earlier—natural gas will have a smaller part in generating electricity than it has today, in spite of the fact that the Soviet Union intends to boost the current annual natural gas production of 860 billion cubic metres to 1,000 billion cubic metres by the year 2000, Mr Szabo added.

An international assessment puts the Soviet Union's natural gas deposits at 42.475 billion cubic metres, 37.6 per cent of the world's total gas reserves.

Hungary will need to import a growing amount of energy in the coming years, with the current proportion of 50 per cent imports to go up to 64 per cent by the year 2000.

In view of the plans to build several gas-turbine power plants in the coming years and the growing demand from households, Hungary will probably need at least 15-16 billion cubic metres of gas by the year 2000, as compared to the 12 billion cubic metres now. Only 4-4.5 billion billion cubic metres of that can be met from domestic production.

No agreement has been reached with the Soviet party yet on the conditions for Hungarian gas imports after the two countries switch over to convertible accounting.

The Hungarian Ministry of Industry is making efforts to diversify energy imports and buy in also from Algeria or Norway, Mr Szabo said.

This year, Hungary will get 6.29 billion cubic metres of gas from the Soviet Union, 355 million cubic metres more than last year.

Domestic mining will be somewhere in the region of 5.4 billion cubic metres.

Karpati Terms Netherlands Talks Successful

LD0803181390 Budapest MTI in English 1654 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (MTI)—Hungarian Minister of Defence Ferenc Karpati termed his talks in the Netherlands as successful. The minister paid a four-day official visit to the Netherlands, and returned to Budapest on Thursday.

At a press conference held at Ferihegy Airport, Mr Karpati said the hosts showed the Hungarian delegation all three services: the Navy, Air Force and Land Forces.

The Hungarian delegation was the first from a Warsaw Treaty country to visit the bases.

Mr Karpati said that, after Hungarian-Dutch political, economic and cultural cooperation, military relations are also developing well.

In answering questions, the minister said he sees no obstacles in the way of signing the Hungarian-Soviet inter-governmental agreement over the week-end [10-11 March]. Under its terms, Soviet troops would be fully withdrawn from Hungary by June 30, 1991.

Interviewed on Visit

LD0803215290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Interview with Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati by correspondent Zoltan Sipos; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Sipos] Last May the then Netherlands defense minister was the first military leader of a NATO country to come to Hungary. Now you are the first defense minister of the Warsaw Pact alliance to have visited a NATO country, the Netherlands. What experience did you gain with regard to the Netherlands Army?

[Karpati] That democracy in the country can also be reflected in the Army, both among the officers and among the conscripts. [passage omitted]

[Sipos] Was the coordination of the commands of the two military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, required for the exchange of visits—that is, for the Netherlands defense minister's visit here, and your visit?

[Karpati] Ever since I have been defense minister I have never, not on a single occasion, requested it. I did not have to request it. Moreover, I did not even have to report that we are now going to take up this or that kind of contact with this or that NATO country. How it is with them, of course I do not know. But I presume it's the same with them.

[Sipos] What other visits are planned between Hungary and the NATO countries?

[Karpati] The French, FRG, Italian, and probably the Finnish defense ministers will visit Hungary this year. And those who have already been here in our country—from Great Britain and Belgium—we have invitations from them for later this year.

Communique Released on Ministers' Talks in ROK

LD0803060490 Budapest MTI in English 1745 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Seoul, March 7 (MTI)—There is need for a system of telecommunications cooperation to be set up between the Republic of Korea and Hungary, Andras Derzsi, Hungarian minister of transport, telecommunication and construction, and his host, Yi U-chae, minister of communications of the Republic of Korea, stated in the joint communique on their talks.

The two ministers agreed on cooperation in the research and development of telecommunications technologies and exchanges of information and experts in the field.

Andras Derzsi, in South Korea from March 6 to 8, invited his counterpart for a visit to Hungary.

HDF Official Visits Rome, Discusses Party

LD0803162190 Budapest MTI in English 1526 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Rome, March 8 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) integrates various trends, and the principal one which now seems to be emerging is that advocating a Christian political way of thinking and Christian socialist values.

The HDF is a right-of-centre party which is endeavouring to win "central political positions" at the March 25 parliamentary elections, Sandor K. Keresztes, vice-president of the HDF, said on his visit to Rome, where he is staying as guest of the Italian Christian Democratic Party.

Mr Keresztes expressed the hope that the HDF will be able to form a new government in conjunction with the Alliance of Free Democrats.

Speaking about his party's manifesto, Keresztes said that the HDF seeks to form well-balanced economic and political relations with each neighbouring country, but a shift is due to take place in favour of ties with Western Europe rather than the previous domination of eastern links.

He was one of those attending the session of the board of the European People's Party (the Organisation of West European Christian Democratic Parties) in the company of other East European Christian Democratic Party representatives.

Mr Keresztes was received by Arnaldo Forlani, general secretary of the Italian Christian Democratic Party, met members of the Christian Democratic group of the Italian Senate, and spoke to Claudio Vitalone, state secretary for foreign affairs, and Franco Foschi, president of the East European Committee of the Council of Europe.

Castro Criticism of E. European Goods Reported

LD0803102390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Fidel Castro, in his speech given at the Congress of the Cuban Women's Federation, has criticized Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary by name. In his opinion, these countries are sending low-quality goods to Cuba. Castro said that his country is receiving wrecks which cannot be sold elsewhere, adding that the Ikarus buses are very bad on fuel consumption and poison the air. Cuba's leader said that trade agreements with East Europe will be reviewed.

Cuba Objects to Human Rights Reprimand

LD0803111890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] In Cuba, they are watching the changes in East Europe with understanding, but they expect no interference into their affairs. Our correspondent in Havana, Gyorgy Mika reports.

[Mika] The island country's number one deputy foreign minister said Hungary's active participation in the UN Human Rights Committee in Geneva's reprimand to Cuba was an unfriendly step against Cuba. In an exclusive statement to Hungarian radio, Jose Viera said at the same time from a certain point of view it is understandable but not acceptable that Hungary, together with three other East European countries—Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Bulgaria—supported the U.S. proposal for further investigation into Cuban human rights violations. By calling the statement understandable, the deputy foreign minister did not, at all, mean that there really are some human rights problems in Cuba.

Replying to my question, the Cuban politician said that they respect the internal changes that have happened in the countries regarded as socialist. Every country can decide which path it wishes to go take, he added. I add that this was also a kind of message: Others should not interfere in what the Cuban leadership does or should do.

Security Chief Discusses Romanian Securitate Spy

AU0703134390 Budapest MTI in English 0954 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, 6 Mar (MTI)—In an interview carried by Tuesday's "NEPSZABADSAG", Colonel Lajos Nagy, head of the Hungarian National Security Office, said he had recommended the deputy chief public prosecutor bring charges against Gyula Lemperger, an agent of the Romanian secret service.

At the same time, Mr Nagy expressed the hope that Lemperger's sincere and revealing confession would be taken into consideration.

The paper also carries an interview with Lemperger, twice deployed in Hungary as a refugee.

It was well after the Christmas Revolution that he received his third commission.

Lemperger came over to Hungary on February 12, only to give himself up to the Hungarian authorities in Debrecen, where he is now staying.

Lemperger, the son of a German father and a Hungarian mother, was called up from Carei in 1984 to an elite reconnaissance, counter-intelligence unit. He was discharged two years later.

In December, 1986, he attempted to defect to Yugoslavia, but was arrested by border guards.

The local Securitate chief in Carei recruited him by blackmail.

Lemperger came over to Hungary on nine occasions for one or two day stints to observe suspicious Romanian citizens belonging to the Hungarian minority.

Later on, he was instructed to settle in Hungary as a refugee, reconnoitre how refugee issues were being handled by the Debrecen Police, "map" Biogal pharmaceutical factory, and given other commissions.

On January 12, well after the revolution, Lemperger was again sent to Hungary, told to seek settlement, and get involved in political life so as to learn the "real" intentions behind the Hungarian assistance to Romania, and "whether the Hungarians want to get a grip on Romania."

Lajos Nagy, head of the National Security Office, told "NEPSZABADSAG" that Lemperger had not been arrested.

At his own request, he has been guaranteed protection until the public prosecutor in charge decides about the case.

Mr Nagy said the Hungarian counter-intelligence had previously taken a rather schizophrenic approach to the activity of Romanian agents.

The counter-intelligence service was aware the Securitate was active in Hungary, but out of misinterpreted internationalism rather than through the fault or incompetence of its staff, the service simply had to bury its head in the sand. This was how officers of the Romanian intelligence service could freely enter the country.

"If any intelligence is directed against Hungary in future, no matter where it may come from, we shall not hesitate to take appropriate measures.

"Of course, we would like to think that the third mission mentioned in the interview was merely a survival of the old Securitate reflexes, and that the Romanian secret service would no longer send agents to Hungary", the head of the National Security Office said.

Broadcasting Agreement Signed With Romania

LD0803162790 Budapest MTI in English 1050 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, March 8 (MTI)—A two-year broadcasting cooperation agreement between Hungary and Romania has been signed in Bucharest by Tibor Ritter, vice-president of Hungarian Radio, and Eugen Preda, deputy general director of Free Romanian Radio.

The accord calls for programme exchanges and mutual study trips.

Hungarian radio would provide assistance to Romanian Radio's Hungarian-language service in Bucharest, and to the Hungarian departments of radio stations up and down the country.

This is the first agreement Free Romanian Radio has concluded with a foreign partner.

Polish Trade Pact Signed; Coal, Cars Excluded

LD0903000190 Budapest MTI in English 1938 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (MTI)—Piroska Apro, Hungarian deputy minister of trade, and Stanislaw Amanovicz, Polish deputy minister of foreign trade, held talks in Budapest about bilateral trade relations.

It was stated that the Hungarian surplus in goods turnover currently stands at some 50 million roubles. The surplus is somewhat less than at the end of 1989. The sides agreed Poland would balance the Hungarian claim this year, with products and services valued at 50 million roubles. However, the Polish goods most in demand, for instance, coal and cars, are not included in the deliveries.

Ms Apro and Mr Amanovicz signed the goods turnover protocol, which envisages turnover worth 280 million roubles for 1990.

Nemeth Writes to CSSR's Calfa on Dam Project

LD0903131290 Budapest MTI in English 1951 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth addressed a letter to Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa on March 6. In the letter dealing with the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage, Mr Nemeth reiterated the position of the Hungarian Government, which had been forwarded in a letter on January 10, under which a decision on amending the inter-state contract of 1977 should be made only after joint Hungarian-Czechoslovak scientific and technical examinations, with the involvement of international experts.

The Hungarian position was again set forth as, in his letter of February 15, Marian Calfa took a stand for the immediate reopening of bilateral talks, and for the Gabcikovo power plant to become operative in 1991. According to the Czechoslovak prime minister's position, the report on amending the contract, worked out as a result of the talks, would be submitted to the Czechoslovak Government and the Federal Assembly in June, 1990.

Journalists were briefed on the exchange of letters on Thursday. Laszlo Udvardi, the Hungarian Government commissioner of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage, noted: In his second letter, the Hungarian prime minister recalled common responsibility. "We should not miss the historical opportunity offered by the social changes taking place in our countries," Mr Nemeth wrote. "Handling this matter is not merely settling the future of a jointly blundered gigantic investment, but is also an issue that has effects on the social relations of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and the prosperity of the peoples and minorities of the two countries."

Bank Official on Forint-Koruna Exchange Rate

LD0703091190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Here in Budapest Tibor Hollauer spoke to (Gyorgy Menik), a department head in the Hungarian National Bank, about the forint-koruna exchange rate situation. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Hollauer] In VILAGGAZDASAG we read that Czechoslovakia would like it if one koruna were worth five forints.

[(Menik)] I have no information that the Czechoslovaks have proposed to us a five-forint koruna exchange rate.

[Hollauer] What exchange rate has been proposed, according to your information?

[(Menik)] It is a question of a roughly three-forint maximum exchange rate, but even that is not considered justified by Hungarian financial experts.

[Hollauer] Now, we know that Hungary has a trade surplus with Czechoslovakia, and it could be a matter of several tens of millions of rubles.

[(Menik)] Naturally, in the event that the forint-koruna exchange rate is altered in the present system—I stress, in the present one, that is to say in the ruble-accounting system—to the disadvantage of the forint, then we would have to balance out this foreign trade surplus of ours with fewer Czechoslovak goods deliveries and services. [end recording]

FIDESZ' Orban Analyzes Political Changes

AU0703144090 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Mar 90 p 9

[Report on interview with Viktor Orban, one of the leaders of the Alliance of Young Democrats, by Janos Desi; place and date not given: "The New Government Will Dance on the Edge of a Razor—Viktor Orban on the Obligation To Give an Account, the Euphoria of Change, and on the Swan-Song of the National Assembly"]

[Text] A lot of people think that the Communist Party represents one extreme in the Hungarian political life, and the Alliance of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] represents the other. My first question to Viktor Orban referred to this.

[Orban] I have always protested against such views. The communists are extremists, but we are not extremists, we regard ourselves as bourgeois democrats.

No Sudden Escape

[Desi] Most of the organizations today can call themselves anything they want because most of them lack a well-formulated program to judge them by.

[Orban] In my view, three and a half party programs have been formulated so far: one, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]; two, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]; three, the FIDESZ; and the half, the Independent Smallholders' Party, half because this program deals only with land. Also due to the things you mentioned before, it would be fortunate if the parties used their energies to make it clear what they want to do in this country, so that the voters will have no unpleasant surprises later.

[Desi] More than 50 parties have been registered in Hungary. However, in your view, only three and a half party programs have been formulated. How should the people debate on programs which do not exist?

[Orban] Perhaps there is no need for more programs. The small parties will drop out anyway. The goal of the party election broadcasts in the television is not to make the good parties gather followers, but to allow the viewers to see which are the totally irresponsible organizations. I do not fear that the more than 50 parties will confuse the people. I seriously claim that there will be no more than six parties in Hungary three months after the elections.

[Desi] Even if only six parties remain, many things will nevertheless change compared to the times when only one party could exist. Any change is accompanied by disorder. When a society changes, old privileges disappear and new ones emerge, and many people's living conditions deteriorate. What kind of upheaval is this society still able to tolerate in exchange for the necessary changes?

[Orban] Obviously, any reorganization is accompanied by considerable changes, but there is little change in Hungary today. In my view, the public mood wants more—first of all, a calling to account of the former economic and political elite. In other words, the people demand greater "upheaval", to use your term. Preservation of power, rather than a transition has been underway in Hungary in the past two months. The political elite has not been deprived of power, and we have failed to remove the economic elite from our economy. Everyone is talking about changes, but we do not feel it. I think this is dangerous. First of all, everyone who played a political and state leadership role in this country in the past decades should be called to account. On this issue, some parties are too cautious, and others are too vehement, and they want a settling of scores, instead of a calling to account—something I do not agree with. However, I must say that we must call to account the leaders who committed crimes and convict them according to the laws in force at the time they committed their crimes. It is better that we say this before masses take to the streets and lynch those people they think are responsible when the masses find that they do not even have enough money for potatoes.

[Desi] I am afraid that soon there will be a lot of people who will no longer be able to afford potatoes. For the time being, we only have a lot of political slogans. Perhaps many people were temporarily satisfied with being able to read the relatively free press and to demonstrate in front of the Parliament almost every week if they wanted to. However, this is no longer enough. Hungary's economic situation should be genuinely improved.

[Orban] First of all about the demonstrations: It would be very good if everyone—from Mr. Csurka to the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT]—accepted the fact that getting people into the streets is not a big thing; getting them home from the streets is the big thing. Let us take a look at our economy. Irrespective of who forms a government, his success or failure will depend on quite minor things. Our economic crisis is incredibly deep, and Hungary is at the edge of bankruptcy. People will vote for the opposition in the hope that they will be able to solve these problems. I am afraid that once the opposition gets into power, it will turn out that our economic situation is even worse than we guess today. We must clearly say that there is no sudden escape from this crisis. Economic rehabilitation takes time. God forbid, we must also take measures with which everyone agrees in principle, like closing down the inefficient enterprises, but once these measures are implemented, the people might demonstrate against the new government. It must be said clearly from the beginning that the new government is not responsible for the crisis, only for restoring the economy, and this cannot be done without forced measures. If it succeeds in making the people accept this, the government will stay in power; if not, it will fall. Therefore, in our program, social political concepts were formulated as an answer to economic measures. When we say that unemployment is inevitable, we immediately describe the type of unemployment benefits we must work out.

Serious Program Debates

[Desi] In one of the recent issues of MAGYAR NARANCS [HUNGARIAN ORANGE], Gyorgy Schopflin drew up a table in which he analyzed the changing countries in East Europe. According to him, the feeling of success of restructuring is zero in the Hungarian society. What can be the consequences of the fact that the changes in Hungary are not taking place in the same stormy and euphoric way as in some neighboring countries?

[Orban] The changes must take place in an euphoric way in Hungary.

[Desi] Instead, we feel a long period of gestation.

[Orban] For the time being. But the opposition must create an atmosphere in which one evaluates the changes as a great success. First of all, we must make it clear that, by these elections and with everyone's contribution, the Communist rule will be replaced by something else, something better. It is impossible to shift to a multiparty system from a single-party system in a country confronted with an economic crisis if there is no excitement-induced patience, expectations, and readiness for sacrifices behind the government.

[Desi] As the Polish example shows, all this can disappear very quickly.

[Orban] One or two months can bring a lot to the new government. It is extremely important for the majority of our society to support the new leadership.

[Desi] In any case, we must first be successful through the elections. In your view, how big is the danger that the struggle for votes would degenerate and become a series of scandals?

[Orban] There is such a danger, but for the time being I do not think that this will actually take place. Of course, there are signs pointing to this danger, but we must fight against them. The fact that the leaders of some parties denigrate each other instead of conducting a program debate is intolerable, but in my view people do not sympathize with such politicking anyway. We would like to conduct serious program debates to make sure that the struggle does not degenerate.

[Desi] So far, we have been primarily talking about the new, freely elected parliament and government, but their predecessors are still in power. What swan song do you envisage from these bodies?

[Orban] I have a very bad opinion of the Parliament. My opinion of the government is not much better either, because while the premier is speaking about responsible political activity, he is doing precisely the opposite. The government is taking unbearably bad economic measures. Almost without exception, the Parliament is made up of people pursuing their own interests; people who are amateurs on top of everything. The best thing would be for them to go home nicely and refrain from singing any swan songs. Obviously, they will not act accordingly, because several people want to be reelected. Now they can deliver their election speeches in the National Assembly.

Order To Arrest

[Desi] It is said about the opposition organizations nowadays that they would like to see the socialist party politicians disappear; politicians who contributed to the fact that these new organizations could emerge in the Hungarian political life so quickly.

[Orban] This sounds good, but it is not true. First of all, who contributed to what is a big question. Second, although I am not particularly fond of the politicians in the governing party, I will always recognize their results, even Karoly Grosz' achievements.

[Desi] What, for example?

[Orban] He toppled Janos Kadar. It is true that Janos Kadar would have fallen even without him sooner or later, but this made a difference for the FIDESZ. We already know today that the order to arrest the FIDESZ leaders was signed as of June 1988. After the FIDESZ was formed, we were summoned to the police and the prosecutor's office, and we said in all these places that, if they arrested us, a student strike would break out. Therefore, they wanted to wait till the test session was over. In the meantime, Karoly Grosz toppled Janos Kadar at the party conference held in May, so he saved us from a few weeks of prison. I can also list Imre Pozsgay's achievements. I am also aware of the premier's merits. However, in my view, a lot more is to be found in the "nonachievements" column. I do not want to make them disappear, but I am trying to make it clear to the people that these leaders represent a different Hungarian future from that of the FIDESZ, the SZDSZ, of the MDF. I would not like to see the popular members of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] enter the Parliament without being called to account by the people and without clarifying what kind of party the HSP really is: a party that is running in the elections by keeping all the provincial newspapers for itself, while the opposition does not have a single daily in the country. The HSP has a government which is leading the country into an economic collapse. Whatever they claim, the Nemeth government is only able to come up with negative economic results. The current government took over an economically better-off country from the Grosz government. Why do these politicians accept this party? They should run as independent candidates and get rid of this organization! I do not want to attack them, and all I say is that everyone is exactly like his party.

State Demographic Office To Count Election Votes

LD0703235490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] It is after all to be the State Demographic Office that will count the votes cast at the elections. However, in the interests of eliminating abuses, further guarantees will be incorporated into the system. On the basis of proposals from experts, this is what was agreed by the parties making up the national list. Among the guarantees is that the constituency computers can only be operated using a security code, and that a copy is issued of every single memorandum fed into the computers. On the basis of the proposal, the system's center will be in the Parliament, and the vote counting will be directed by a special government commissioner, with the supervision of representatives from the parties.

The 12 parties will formulate their final opinions on the proposal after familiarizing themselves with the computer system, and trying it out tomorrow at a professional consultation.

MSZMP Files Complaint Against Nemeth

LD0803121490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Laszlo Gardai reports from the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] electoral meeting organized in the Pushkin cinema.

[Gardai] The MSZMP wishes to file a complaint against Premier Miklos Nemeth for inciting the community, disturbing public calm, and the well-founded suspicion of false accusation. All this was declared by Imre Maroti, secretary of the party's Central Committee. According to the speaker, the whole putsch was a bluff, the premier was lying. For just this reason, they have also written a letter to the deputy speaker of the National Assembly in which they demand that Miklos Nemeth name names.

The speaker, Imre Maroti, talking about the past took the stand that at the MSZMP's 14th congress, the right-wing leadership of the party created the Socialist Party through a putsch. He also said that the party now appears on the electoral list in 18 counties; in Budapest they have managed to put forward candidates in 19 constituencies. They have achieved all this without one single filler [unit of currency], while from May to December, the MSZMP supported the social democrats with 1 million forints.

In principle, the party approves of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, but only if this is made possible by European security. According to the Central Committee secretary, Hungary is now under siege financially from U.S. capital.

Peter Bognar, candidate at the elections for the MSZMP, demanded that low pensions be raised to at least 6,000 forints, while the upper limit would be 20,000 forints. Apart from putting a brake on inflation, free health care also appears on the party's program. Among the demands, the speaker also mentioned the abolition of drain fees.

HSP News Conference on Election Campaign

LD0803205290 Budapest MTI in English 1818 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Party held a press conference on Thursday. HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] spokesman Viktor Polgar announced that the party would move out of its current headquarters (on the banks of the Danube) after the elections, and will return the building to the government. Mr Polgar added the new headquarters of the party will be in Koztarsasag Square, in the building that now houses the Budapest HSP organization.

Bela Fabry, member of the party presidium, termed the recently published draft of the independent lawyer's forum, under which leaders responsible for the crisis situation should be called to account, as political swashbuckling. He stressed it would be unfortunate for the new parliament to begin its activity by enacting laws of a trumped-up nature, with retroactive effect.

Mr Polgar reported on the session of the HSP Presidium, held on Wednesday, [7 Mar] and said: The HSP leaders condemn the more and more frequent extremist manifestation of the election campaign. They are of the opinion it is far beyond the methods of an ethical election fight when certain political forces call constitutional parties fascist ones, or term the government a liar. (The former remark was made by one of the leaders of the Independent Smallholders' Party about the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party—MSZMP] and its successors. The latter remark was made—by leaders of the current HSWP, among others—in connection with the announcement of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth last Friday about the coup attempt last November.)

The spokesman said it follows from the current situation that the parties are unable to jointly celebrate March 15, the anniversary of the outbreak of the Hungarian freedom fight of 1848. He also termed as bizarre, and unparalleled in world political practice, that several parties are protesting over the scheduled broadcasting by television of the speech of the country's lawful prime minister on this national holiday.

Antall Predicts Democratic Forum Victory

LD0803230790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Jozsef Antall has given a statement to a foreign paper. The chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] reckons that his party will win in the parliamentary elections. Jozsef Antall, in a statement to a Polish paper, reaffirmed that the MDF is not willing to form a coalition with the Socialist Party. At the same time, he added that the names of certain Socialist leaders could come into question when the new Hungarian government is formed. Jozsef Antall mentioned Premier Miklos Nemeth and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn.

News Conference Held at Intrior Ministry

LD0803235990 Budapest MTI in English 1853 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (MTI)—The national police commander issued a special order to the county police commanders, to do everything possible in the interest of the smooth organization of the parliamentary elections, it was announced at a press conference held on Thursday in the Ministry of the Interior.

Colonel Lorinc Laposi, head of the criminal investigation group, informed journalists that in the first two months of 1990, the number of crimes rose by 60 per cent over the similar period of 1989. He also said investigations against the police captain of Leninvaros have been completed, and it has been ascertained the captain is not to blame for the atrocity against Karoly Grosz in early February. (As reported at that time, Karoly Grosz was prevented from entering the local television studio, where he was to have participated in an economic policy debate programme as representative of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP]).

Colonel Karoly Nagy, head of group, said the bill on fire-arms and ammunition has been prepared, and will shortly be put to social debate. To date, the weapon permit regulations for citizens were set down by unpublished Ministry of the Interior decrees in 1968 and 1975. At the end of 1989, there were 110,000 fire-arms in the possession of 67,000 Hungarian citizens, of which 88,000 were hunting weapons, and 22,000 were self-defence pistols. The number of these latter will be continuously cut back. However, some former HSWP officials still possess self-defence pistols, Colonel Nagy said in answer to a question by MTI.

Under the bill, self-defence fire-arms can be possessed in the future by judges, attorneys, the professional members of the armed organs, and those who face heightened danger in view of their public function. This latter category can, for instance, include the leaders of the parties. The bill binds the possession of air, alarm and gas weapons essentially only to the condition that the owner be an adult citizen.

Parties State Platforms at Election Rallies

LD0903045890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] At the election rally of the Hungarian People's Party [MNP] in Siofok, Csaba Varga said that they consider the national and center parties as their natural allies. The MNP would like a parliamentary majority which would strive towards a democratic system change, serving the advance of the majority of the people.

At the election rally of the Christian Democratic People's Party in Paszto, Miklos Haznos, the party's chief attorney, stated that his party's leading idea is Christian morality and the organization wishes to participate in politics in the spirit of Christian ideology.

KPN Leader Moczulski on German Unification

LD0203023790 Warsaw PAP in English
2340 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—If German unification is the problem of Germans, the consequences of the process are a subject of interest and relate to interests of the whole of Europe and a large part of the world, said leader of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) Leszek Moczulski at a press conference here today.

Personally I see no real threat to our Western border, but such a situation cannot be ruled out, he said.

The KPN leader stated that his organization is against the so-called four great powers variant of solving the German question.

According to Moczulski it could be solved during a conference of European countries with participation of the Soviet Union, the U.S. and Canada during which a new state of affairs would be formed. The alternative concept would aim at signing a peace treaty with united Germany.

Moczulski opted for elimination of the division of Europe into military blocs.

The KPN leader referred also to the question of the presence of Soviet troops in Poland in connection with German unification. He stated that there are no grounds for maintaining the troops on the Polish territory.

Deputy Premier Janowski on German Reunification

PM0703124890 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS
3-4 Mar 90 pp 12-13

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Jan Janowski by Christophe Urbanowicz; place and date not given]

[Text] [Urbanowicz] Does a reunified Germany frighten you?

[Janowski] Yes and no. On a personal level, I am not afraid of German reunification. It seems to me that the changes in the younger generation's mentality are so profound that, if we politicians did not exist, these younger generations of Europeans could have coexisted perfectly well long ago. On the other hand, I fear German reunification as a political process. Current political influences in the FRG are very diverse and this diversification is likely to increase after the reunification of the two Germanies. I am thinking in particular of the Social Democratic Party. To maintain their position on the future Germany's political chessboard, German politicians may be tempted, or forced by pressure from the people, to play on extremist ideas or elements. In Germany, as seen in the past, that means the desire to maintain or, in this case, to reconquer the lands which belonged to the Third Reich. I am afraid of that, because I experienced it in my youth.

[Urbanowicz] Poland wants to take part in the discussions on Germany's future which are due to open soon between the GDR, the FRG, and the four powers victorious in World War II. Can Poland play any role in them, other than as an observer?

[Janowski] Poland wants to participate in that forum because it does not want Yalta, where everything was decided behind its back, to be repeated. The question of the Oder-Neisse line, which is Poland's western border, can only be tackled in the Poles' presence. The Soviet Union supports our approach, whereas the FRG opposes that officially (on Thursday, Foreign Minister Roland Dumas called on the German leaders to recognize the Oder-Neisse line "unambiguously"—LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS editor's note). U.S. President George Bush told Chancellor Helmut Kohl unambiguously that Poland's interests must be guaranteed in negotiations among the six and that the Oder-Neisse line is definitive. But it is not just Polish interests which are at stake. Every time that Polish-German affairs in Europe have not been settled satisfactorily, there has been trouble on the Old Continent. This has been a historical constant since Poland's conquest by the German kings. It is impossible to dismiss this experience which is 300 years old.

I think that France should be primarily concerned with Poland being able to express its view in the six-country forum. In the past, peace was only guaranteed when a strong France was allied with a strong Poland. As soon as French power waned—as was the case in the 15th or 16th century—or when Poland lost its influence, for instance in the 17th or 18th centuries, German and Russian hegemony grew, becoming a threat to Europe's balance. As a result, wars broke out, followed by territorial conquests which were never permanent. No conquest can guarantee the stability of the political situation.

[Urbanowicz] Will General Jaruzelski be able to remain as president until the end of his 6-year mandate which ends in 1995?

[Janowski] The implementation of the agreements reached at the roundtable meeting between government and opposition (in April and May 1989—LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS editor's note) happened extremely quickly. Those agreements are still in force because the parliament elected after the roundtable is still functioning. It is rather unlikely, however, that this situation can last for the time specified by the signatories of the roundtable agreement. After the municipal elections in April or May, Solidarity's dominant position will be further strengthened. New parliamentary elections in a year's time cannot be ruled out. Parliament will be dissolved and the president will then resign to ensure that the first government elected in a fully democratic way can last. This is not yet another reform but a radical transformation of Poland's political and economic system.

Kohl Commentary on Polish-German Affairs Noted

LD0803145890 Warsaw PAP in English 2231 GMT 7 Mar 90

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz: "Kohl on Relations with Poland"]

[Text] Bonn, March 7—Government spokesman Hans Klein presented to the press Chancellor Kohl's commentary on the resolution on Polish-German affairs adopted by the government coalition.

The commentary reads that the said text "corresponds both to the stand of the federal government and the legal situation in force. Its intention is to do away with the unnecessary apprehensions of the Polish nation on the border issue."

Asked by PAP whether the terms of reparations and individual compensation overlapped, the spokesman replied in the affirmative. It seems that it was not by coincidence that the press carried a report that the coalition partners, the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], CSU [Christian Social Union] and FDP [Free Democratic Party] "are at one that the compensation wishes will not be taken into account."

Also Genscher is said to have clearly opposed compensation claims by former slave labourers while still in November the chancellor hinted that individual compensation claims could be reviewed. The Bonn sppokesman recalled that the West German Government already once rejected a verbal note of the Polish Government on compensation.

Assessment of FRG Bundestag Border Guarantees

LD0803221290 Warsaw PAP in English 2055 GMT 8 Mar 90

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, March 8—Expectations were not met that the West German parliament would jointly confirm a resolution envisaging border guarantees for Poland. Although it was passed, only CDU [Christian Democratic Union] - CSU [Christian Social Union] and FDP [Free Democratic Party] deputies voted in favour of it. The SPD [Social Democratic Party] and the Greens forwarded a separate resolution.

As concerns the border issues, three motions, of the government faction, the SPD and the Greens, were to a large degree convergent. Only the Greens' motion clearly spoke about the need to recognize the border. The others guarantee its "inviolability." The border resolution adopted by the government majority reads: "The Polish nation should be aware that its right to life in safe border will not be questioned by us, Germans, through territorial claims either today or tomorrow."

Responding to polemical comments on the border issue, Chancellor Kohl recalled that such a resolution is only an expression of political will while the well-known legal stand of the FRG has not changed and will not change until a border treaty is reached by a sovereign Germany.

The main stumbling block is the matter of individual compensation for Polish victims of Nazism and forced labourers. The SPD and Greens motions demand such compensation, albeit "symbolic" while their representatives thought it was a scandal that the government coalition not only did not speak out on the matter but moreover will introduce its "no" to reparations in the resolution on the Polish western border passed by the government-coalition majority.

Spokesman of the SPD Juergen Schmude stated: "We are acting against Poland whose nation suffered from German invasion and crimes as no other nation in the world. A country to which we said at the Bundestag on November 8 that we want to cooperate with it for a better Europe, cannot become the object of a campaign of uncertainty coming from the chancellors office. This is not becoming and happens contrary to the will of a decisive majority of our citizens."

Church Supports Government Stance on Border

LD0803231390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] The two-day meeting of the 239th plenary conference of the Polish Episcopate has ended in Warsaw. Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the Polish primate, and Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, the Archbishop of Krakow, chaired the meeting. It was emphasised that the church in Poland, together with the whole society, unequivocally supports the stance of the Government of the Polish Republic, which demands Poland's participation in the discussions on the security and integrity of its western borders. The incredible war losses give the Polish nation a full moral right to that.

The conference also discussed issues connected with the invitation to the holy father to pay a further pastoral visit to Poland. It also discussed the present socioeconomic situation. It was stated, that although the transformations of the state's structures and its economy are causing various problems, and even give rise to concern and disquiet about the future, the joint efforts of parliament and the government, as well as political and social organizations, to improve Poland's economic situation gives rise to hope. The Polish bishops appealed to the whole of society for patience and sacrifice as it passes through the difficult period of changes, and for responsible participation in the creation of self-government in the town and countryside.

Kohl Border Statement Deemed 'Important Progress'

LD0803231790 Warsaw PAP in English
2122 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Brussels, March 8—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski gave a telephone interview to the Belgian daily LE SOIR.

On the eve of the visit by Polish leaders to Paris, Minister Skubiszewski said that the significance of the trip was not changed at all by Chancellor Kohl's last declaration striving to guarantee Poland's borders.

A debate on the unification of Germany concerns much broader problems, particularly the place that united Germany will take in Europe and NATO. Because of this the question of borders must be settled once for all in such a way so it could not appear after the unification, the head of the Polish diplomacy said.

Minister Skubiszewski thinks that in this respect the chancellor's declaration on the Odra-Nysa [Oder-Neisse] border is an "important progress."

Mazowiecki Interview on Future German Relations

PM0903105690 Paris LE MONDE in French
9 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Jacques Amalric and Sylvie Kauffmann; place and date not given]

[Text] [LE MONDE] Will your visit to Paris with President Jaruzelski center on the German question?

[Mazowiecki] It is a rule of history that when the German question is important to Europe, France and Poland want to come together. We will discuss with President Mitterrand and with Messrs. Rocard and Dumas [prime minister and foreign minister] the consequences of Germany's unification for its neighbors. This matter is particularly important for our two countries. Furthermore, we expect support from France for our desire to take part in the six-way talks decided on in Ottawa.

[LE MONDE] In what form?

[Mazowiecki] In the first stage of this conference there should be a separate part devoted to the security of Germany's neighbors: We should be involved in this part. The "consultations" formula is unsatisfactory: What we want is to be involved in this part of the conference. If the time has come to end the post-war period Poland asserts its long-standing rights as an ally to participate in it.

I believe that many countries support us, though some fear the disruption of the plan for negotiations set out in Ottawa. We are not opposed to this formula, but we want to complement it. France certainly understands us best. Immediately after the war France experienced the same kind of problems as we are experiencing now—when it could not take for granted its representation in certain forums where decisions affecting it were being made. Now we are counting on it to support our request to participate. In this connection, I am very grateful to Mr. Dumas for the remarks he made in Berlin recently.

Furthermore, in recent weeks certain ambiguities have emerged regarding our western border: This has strengthened our conviction that our involvement in this conference is indispensable.

[LE MONDE] How do you explain Chancellor Kohl's stubbornness?

[Mazowiecki] I would prefer not to explain it...

[LE MONDE] Not for want of ideas?

[Mazowiecki] (laughs) The chancellor has just foregone establishing a link between recognition of the Oder-Neisse line and war reparations. So I would rather not pass judgment on something which happened only yesterday and which, moreover, was a surprise to me.

[LE MONDE] You have already discussed these matters with Chancellor Kohl, during his visit to Warsaw in November. Were the ambiguities not already apparent?

[Mazowiecki] I believed during that visit that we had a better understanding on this subject. I have no reason to question Chancellor Kohl's goodwill with regard to Polish-German reconciliation. What I do find unacceptable is a situation in which domestic considerations would prevail in connection with such important decisions.

Peace Treaty Before Unification

[LE MONDE] It is often said that Chancellor Kohl is much clearer on this issue in private. Is this true?

[Mazowiecki] Yes. I any case, it is not we but the German side that has frequently drawn attention to the absence of such a treaty to define a final position on the border issue. You cannot move from a situation in which there are two states to a situation where there is only one without reaching an accord having the status of a treaty. One small detail, that makes all the difference, is that this treaty must be concluded after the elections in the GDR. This treaty would be signed by the two governments even before unification and ratified afterward. The FRG proposes concluding such a treaty only after unification. It is a crucial difference.

[LE MONDE] What points should this treaty cover?

[Mazowiecki] For our part, we want to discuss the confirmation of borders.

[LE MONDE] Do you intend to broach the issue of the Poles subjected to forced labor by the Third Reich?

[Mazowiecki] We raised this issue during Chancellor Kohl's visit to Warsaw. For us, it is a matter of very important personal claims, which concern not only Poles subjected to forced labor in Germany but also Polish victims of "medical" experiments in the concentration camps.

[LE MONDE] Should this issue be included in a future peace treaty?

[Mazowiecki] I repeat that, for our part, we raised only the border issue with regard to the treaty. It is not we who extended the issue to reparations.

[LE MONDE] Would you prefer a united Germany to be neutral or a member of NATO?

[Mazowiecki] Our foreign minister has already spoken on this matter: In the long term we do not believe in the possibility of a neutral Germany; it is too big a country. The events following World War I showed us how certain obligations imposed on Germany could give rise to resentment. This is why we do not support the idea of neutrality in the traditional meaning of the word. The problem of the balance of forces in Europe—to be discussed by the "four"—is of a different kind and must be settled in parallel to that of unification.

"Not Complicating Things for Gorbachev"

[LE MONDE] Are you in favor of keeping Soviet troops in Poland until the conclusion of a treaty with Germany?

[Mazowiecki] Of course we want these troops to return home at some point, but it is true that these issues are connected and that we do not want a solution that would complicate things for Gorbachev.

[LE MONDE] Some Hungarian and Czechoslovak leaders privately express anxieties about events in the Soviet Union. Do you agree with their analysis?

[Mazowiecki] I too am uneasy, but I hope that Gorbachev will succeed in surmounting the difficulties. For the sake of Europe and the world it is to be hoped that these changes are not too abrupt.

[LE MONDE] Soon the Warsaw Pact will be only a formality. What kind of order could take its place?

[Mazowiecki] Europe's landscape has undergone qualitative changes in recent months. You cannot yet say that the pacts no longer exist or that they are unimportant. All you can say is that there is a pressing need to deliberate on a future solution, a new collective security system in Europe. Francois Mitterrand's proposal to create a European confederation is very important from this viewpoint. Our own proposal of a European cooperation council is more immediate, but does not conflict with it.

The rapprochement of the two sides of Europe should follow two paths: The first entails the opening up of certain West European organizations to the countries of the East—I have in mind the Council of Europe, to which we have just applied for membership, and a formula for association with the EEC. The second path would consist in creating a body that would permit virtually immediate cooperation among all the European states—and indeed, not only the European states, since it would embrace the CSCE, which also includes the United States and Canada.

Within such a forum it would be possible to give concrete form to the idea of a European confederation, which will take longer to achieve. Having said that, we are open to all suggestions from our French friends and await with interest the points that they may make to us. I am certain of one thing however: The qualitative changes in Europe are so rapid that we must not delay in creating a common organizational mechanism of this kind.

The Importance of the German Minority

[LE MONDE] Is the fate of Poland's German minority important in your dispute with Germany?

[Mazowiecki] We settled that question in the declaration that Chancellor Kohl and I signed, and we are keeping our word. Until then it was denied in Poland that there was a German minority problem. We recognized the existence of this problem and we have pledged to respect the rights of minorities. At the same time, we pointed out to the German side that the size of this minority should not be artificially inflated. What surprised me most, however, was that this question should have been linked with the question of our border.

You have to remember history, and how certain problems to do with minorities were exploited just after the Treaty of Versailles. That is why we respect international conventions in this regard, but we will not let anyone impose special rules on us.

[LE MONDE] Do you agree with the West German authorities, who put the German minority in Poland at over 1 million people?

[Mazowiecki] Absolutely not. I believe that this figure has been multiplied almost tenfold.

The Eastern Neighbors

[LE MONDE] What has been the effect of all these changes in Poland?

[Mazowiecki] Poles are very sensitive to all these problems. All the public opinion polls demonstrate that, just as they show that it is in Poland that German unification is most feared. Extremely close attention has been paid to the border discussions in recent weeks and I think that my standpoint on the government's behalf is supported by all political groups, including emigre groups.

[LE MONDE] Does that not give nationalists an opportunity to outbid you?

[Mazowiecki] That has happened in the past, but we want to avoid it. Speaking on West German television recently, I said that the position taken by West Germany on all these questions would be a test for German-Polish reconciliation but that we need such a reconciliation. My comments were broadcast in Poland, too, which demonstrates clearly that we are also talking to Poles about reconciliation with Germany.

We are fully aware that we shall soon be neighbors of a unified Germany, that we shall have to live together, and that there must be reconciliation between us. That presupposes no further ambiguity on the border question: If those ambiguities persist, reconciliation will be impossible.

[LE MONDE] Do some Poles question your country's eastern border?

[Mazowiecki] I think that some do. However, the vast majority understand very well that you cannot change borders perpetually and that reconciliation with our Eastern neighbors is very important. That, too, is a great historical task.

[LE MONDE] Are the first results of the austerity program introduced at the beginning of the year encouraging?

[Mazowiecki] The acceptance of the austerity measures is to the population's credit. I was told today that the unemployment figure is 150,000. That isn't a lot yet, but it threatens to become an enormous problem.

[LE MONDE] Do you think that the municipal elections due at the end of May will make it possible to overcome the current government deadlock?

[Mazowiecki] These elections should make it possible to lay the foundations of democracy: For 40 years local government has been utterly destroyed. It is very important for democracy that it be rebuilt. I am staking a lot on that, especially since we are also going to renew voivodship administration at the same time.

"What I Do Will Be Important"

[LE MONDE] How is your power-sharing with President Jaruzelski getting along?

[Mazowiecki] We consult one another on all the major international questions and we get on well there. This is all the better since the transition from a state-party to a state, plain and simple, is a very important factor in the president's attitude and creates the conditions for cooperation.

[LE MONDE] Is being an intellectual a good preparation for exercising power?

[Mazowiecki] It isn't that simple, because to the intellectuals I was a politician and to the politicians an intellectual. Every day I discover new problems... and surprises. This reminds me of an anecdote concerning John Paul II: When he was about to be elected pope and felt that certain aspects of the job were beyond him, he had a dream in which he confided in God and God answered him simply: "Don't take it all too seriously!" My philosophy is drawn from that anecdote: I certainly won't manage to do everything, but what I do will be important.

Spokesperson Reviews Mazowiecki Visit to France

LD0203171790 Warsaw PAP in English 1541 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 2—Poland's Government press spokeswòman Malgorzata Niezabitowska told newsmen today about the forthcoming visit to France by the Polish president, prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

During the visit the two sides will discuss Germany's unification, Poland's participation in the "Two plus four" conference and a treaty settlement of the Polish western border.

Niezabitowska spoke about the Polish premier's visit to the U.S. scheduled for March. Mazowiecki's visits to France and the U.S., Following his visits to the Soviet Union and Great Britain, supplement the contacts of the head of the Polish Government with representatives of the four great powers.

Asked whether in connection with these visits Poland was not going to talk with Bonn on a treaty settlement of the Border, Niezabitowska said that such talks were under way. Minister Skubiszewski talked with Minister Genscher who found further close contacts necessary.

It is clear that we want to talk about this matter with all the participants in the future conference on germany's unification, said she.

Mazowiecki, Jaruzelski France Visit Begins 9 Mar

LD0803203990 Warsaw PAP in English 1848 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 8—President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, accompanied by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, will pay an official visit to France on March 9.

The programme of the one-day stay envisages plenary talks attended by the presidents, premiers and foreign ministers of the two countries followed by their press conference.

This Polish-French summit is not going to be a typical one. Not only because the Polish-French relations have never seen such talks but also because of the planned topics under discussion. One can expect the two sides to focus on all-European issues pertaining to security and stability of our continent, and particularly to consequences of the process of Germanys' unification.

The meeting is expected to confirm far-going convergence of stands of the two countries as concerns the vision of the future Europe with one German state.

Poland and France are linked by the political will for agreement and reconciliation with Germany, and for developing the partner-like relations also after the unification process is completed.

The Polish delegation expects the French side to adopt a stand on guarantees for the Odra/Nysa [Oder-Neisse] border and on Poland's attending this part of the "two-plus-four" talks which will refer to new security systems in Europe and borders of a united Germany. What seems to be important for the French side is Poland's attitude towards a concept of European federation forwarded by President Francois Mitterrand.

The sides are also to discuss some bilateral issues, such as their economic and financial cooperation. The recent times have brought about a progress in this field but the effects have been unsatisfactory so far from the Polish point of view.

France continues to place seventh among Poland's highly-developed economic partners. The revival in the political relations is more palpable and, according to President Mitterrand's announcement, France is playing the role of Poland's advocate in Europe.

Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki French TV Interview

LD0903053190 Warsaw PAP in English
2359 GMT 8 Mar 90

[By PAP correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, March 8—On the eve of their visit to France, President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki gave interviews to the French TV. Antenne-2, the second channel of the French TV, broadcast an interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski, an interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki appeared almost on the same hour in the TF-1 news desk.

General Jaruzelski deemed the difficult economic situation the greatest threat to Poland. As for the unification of Germany, he said: "Chancellor Kohl's last decision is half a step in a good direction but only half a step. We wait for more. Poland does not want reparations as a state, it is only Polish citizens who demand compensations for forced labour in the third reich."

Problems of the unification of Germany were the main topic of the interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki. He said that the guaranteeing of the inviolability of the western borders was of vital importance for Poland.

As for the conference on the unification of Germany, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said: "Our presence at it is of fundamental significance. Yalta cannot recur and I think that France understands us well."

French Solidarity Expected

LD0903095790 Warsaw PAP in English
0815 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski this morning left for France on an official visit. In Paris they will hold talks with President Francois Mitterrand, Premier Michel Rocard and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas. Upon their departure they said:

President Jaruzelski: I expect still better understanding for our reasons and interests and their support by France as a great power. The visit will be a very serious step on the road of traditionally friendly relations between our countries. Undoubtedly it will be a topical political event.

Premier Mazowiecki: We would like to discuss matters connected with the German unification and also ways of achieving the European confederation mentioned by President Mitterrand at the start of this year. Poland has already presented its concept of setting up the Council of European Cooperation. It is the same road. The visit is an important political event as it takes place in an unusual situation. Together with the French we have to consider whether we are heading towards towards a European Germany or a German Europe.

Legislative Body Discusses New Police Force

AU0503163390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 1 Mar 90 p 3

[Jan Ordynski report: "Professionals"]

[Text] On 28 February, the second day of its talks, the Sejm subcommission working on changes to the rules governing the work of the interior ministry examined a joint government-deputies bill on the state police. This is to be an armed and uniformed force, entrusted with protecting the safety of citizens and maintaining public order. It will be headed by a commander in chief, who will be appointed by the premier on the recommendation of the interior minister, who, in turn, will seek the opinion of his Political Consultative Committee. However, voivodship and regional police chiefs will be nominated by local self-government bodies.

The police force is to consist of a criminal branch, specialized branches (road traffic, water, railroad, etc.), and local branch. This latter division will largely fall under the command of local self-government bodies, which will be empowered to form their own peacekeeping forces if they so desire.

Some of the proposed solutions led to a prolonged exchange of views between the Sejm deputies and experts on the one hand, and the militiamen who had been invited to the meeting on the other. The first such controversy was the right for police offers to demand to see an identity document. Some deputies thought this might be a violation of human rights. This view was rejected by Prof. Jan Widacki from the Catholic University of Lublin, who said that anything the police does can be construed as a violation of human rights, whereas checking the identity of citizens is the prerogative of every institution of this kind in the world. Similarly, some deputies voiced misgivings about a policemen's right to place people in temporary custody, which in the past has been abused for political purposes. However, they agree that in combating common crime, such detention is unavoidable. There was also disagreement about the use of force and firearms. As is to be expected, this problem will be discussed at a plenary Sejm session. Another topic to be discussed by the Sejm is the possibility of checking correspondence and using technical resources to provide information on and establish confidential evidence about crimes against human life. In order to prevent abuse in this sphere, it is suggested that this activity require prior approval from the minister of internal affairs, in concert with the minister of justice.

Views New Security Service

AU0603134590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Mar 90 p 3

[Jan Ordynski report: "Job Certification in the Security Service"]

[Text] The Sejm subcommission involved in creating new rules for the work of the Interior Ministry has ended its three-day talks. On 1 March, the subcommission examined two government-Sejm deputy bills: one on the Office for the Protection of the State [UOP], and one on the work of Interior Ministry officials and employees.

The primary task of the UOP will be to protect state security and the constitutional order. The UOP is to prevent and investigate cases of espionage, terrorism, and other serious offenses that harm the state and its defensive and economic potential. Other UOP duties will include preparing reports and analyses for state authorities on the subject of state security, and protecting the country's leadership and the most important buildings and installations. The chief of the UOP will be appointed by the premier on the recommendation of the interior minister, who, in turn, will seek the opinion of his Political Consultative Committee.

The provisions of the UOP bill did not cause any major argument among the deputies, but one cannot say the same about the Interior Ministry bill. This bill says that as soon as the Security Service [SB] is dissolved, all its employees will automatically be discharged, with the exception of militiamen, who will immediately become members of the new police force. This provision was the basic reason behind the heated exchange of views. Speaking against the automatic discharge of SB officials, Deputy Jerzy Karpacz (Deputies Club of the Democratic Left) said that it is necessary to distinguish between entire units on the one hand, and the individuals who compose these units on the other. Many individual officials will be harmed by the decision to automatically discharge them. It would be wrong to guide oneself by emotions and a feeling of revenge in this matter, said Karpacz. Most of the SB now consists of young people, and it is not they who were responsible for the SB's low status. It is not they who laid down the law. Many of them are good professionals in intelligence and counterintelligence work, and discharging them would cause the country major harm. Neither should the principle of collective responsibility be applied here, Karpacz concluded. Zbigniew Pudysz, national defense vice minister, spoke in a similar vein.

The opinions of both men were countered by Deputy Jerzy Zimowski (Citizens Parliamentary Club), who said that the SB must pay the political price for its unlawful work, its suppression of freedom, and its coresponsibility for the well-known political status quo. He added that many SB officers were spurred on by ideological zeal and fanaticism, and vented their emotions through their work. The provisions of the bill are not too harsh, said Zimowski. On the contrary, they are rational, for they do not pass advance judgment on anyone. Anyone will be able to apply for a job with the UOP or police.

These very sensitive issues are due to be discussed further, and final decisions will, of course, be reached by the Sejm.

To conclude, perhaps it is worth adding that it has been suggested that the practice of applying military ranks to the police be discontinued, and that the old names of ranks be restored. The highest rank will be commissioner general, followed by commissioners, inspectors, assistant inspectors, and station chiefs.

Commentary Views Former PZPR Membership

AU2802181290 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 22 Feb 90 p 2

[Waldemar Mickiewicz commentary: "Nonparty From Yesterday"]

[Text] We finally have the social democrats—those who "always were," and those from "yesterday." The main body of the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] members has chosen to become nonparty affiliated from "yesterday." This body of people is possibly the most interesting and politically important group. Even if one chooses to ignore the sheer size of this group, one's political calculations (officially, the PZPR had 2 million registered members in the final stages of its existence), it is impossible to overlook the fact that most of these presently unaffiliated people have been brought up to actively participate in public life. It is difficult to imagine that this group will simply reconcile itself to disappear quietly from the political scene and to assume that it can safely be ignored in any future Sejm or local government election campaigns.

How do these nonparty people see their future role? This is the question that I attempted to answer during my recent stay in Lodz. Interest in the SDRP [Social Democracy of the Polish Republic] is only just beginning. To date, only some 1,000 people have officially joined the new party. The most frequent—and under the circumstances, predictable—answer that came from the ranks of the unaffiliated was that the dissolution of the PZPR made things easier, because it would not have looked "very good" to openly desert the party when it had lost its strength and powers.

Others have quite simply had enough of politics and of being told what to do. They do not want to be associated with any party, neither the old ones nor the new, more "credible" ones. They want to vote for people whom they like and not for predesignated representatives of some "political team" or other.

It was interesting to note that many of the people I spoke to in Lodz were least of all interested in the new parties, regardless of whether these parties declared themselves against the government, or whether they were ready to support it in some way. The concept of the bipolar political arrangement is still uppermost in the mentality of these people. They still see the massed ranks of "Solidarity" on the one side, and the people representing the old guard on the other. When one suggested to these people that such an arrangement no longer exists, this seemed to cause some them visible consternation.

Many of the unaffiliated still declare themselves on the side of the political left. However, they are reluctant to join new parties that are already in the process of consolidation. One of the section directors in a large factory confided to me that he had had enough of people who tried to make it to the top climbing on his back. He did not believe anyone now, regardless of whether they declared themselves "red" or "yellow."

When the election campaigns start rolling, the politicians will undoubtedly begin to focus on this group of people and to woo its allegiance. Will their appeals for support prove successful?

Probably not. These people—for the time being unwilling to ally themselves with anyone—feel a sense of rejection, betrayal, and of having been wronged. If we do not have a political force that is prepared today to think about these people, we may find that anything done later will be too late.

The reaction of this group of people to the two social democratic camps varies immensely. Nevertheless, there is no palpable feeling of animosity. On the contrary, and perhaps surprisingly, there is still a large residue of goodwill. The most interesting comment I heard was made by a director of a large enterprise, who stated that it was a godsend that Kwasniewski's party had not attracted many former PZPR members, because this gave Kwasniewski a chance to form a completely new party. Further, the director added, by dissolving themselves, the "reds" have played a trick on the new authorities—namely, by depriving them of an "enemy" with which they could continue to frighten people.

The phenomenon of this 2 million-strong group of people who only "yesterday" became nonaffiliated creates a new situation which, in my opinion, the politicians have not yet recognized.

SDRP Claims on PZPR Archives Rejected

AU0703154790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Danuta Frey article: "The Archives Instead of The Shredder"]

[Text] Professor Marian Wojciechowski, State Archives director, does not believe that the so-called Bierut [president after the war] archives will ever be found. Some documents, especially those that are highly inconvenient, display a remarkable tendency of vanishing into thin air.

In the days preceding the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress, the management of the State Archives received reliable news about the destruction of files by employees of the PZPR apparatus. This was not just a case of getting rid of unwanted waste paper. It was a case of destroying inconvenient documents. The very way in which these documents were disposed of reveals everything. Normally, documents that are not suitable to go into the archives are consigned to the waste paper heap. However, these documents were either incinerated or shredded.

"Thus, the future of the archives of the old PZPR is already burdened with the primeval sin of destroying files," notes Prof. Wojciechowski.

Although the State Archives in Gdansk and Wroclaw have already received files belonging to former PZPR voivodship committees, and the files of the PZPR committees of Szczecin, Poznan, and Ostroleka are now being transferred to these archives, the initiative to do so is merely a local one.

Even though the PZPR has ceased to exist in accordance with the 11th Congress resolution, and the law of 14 July 1983 concerning national archives and archive resources provides that the archives of an abolished political party must be transferred to the state archives, this ruling still exists only on paper. The reason is that the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP] claims to be the PZPR's successor, and thus entitled to its assets.

The question of assets is meant to be decided by a special commission acting under the auspices of Minister Jacek Ambroziak, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers. However, no decision about what is to happen to PZPR archives has been made yet.

On 7 February, Professor Henryk Samsonowicz, national education minister, asked SDRP chairman Aleksander Kwasniewski to transfer all of the PZPR's files to the state archives. But the SDRP insists on these files being treated as a part of the PZPR's assets to which the SDRP is making claims. The SDRP wants to keep not only local archives, but most of all the PZPR Central Archives.

We know that these Central Archives contain files pertaining to the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, the London-based Polish Socialist Party, and the Communist Party of Poland. They also contain documents relating to the Polish government-in-exile, the Home Army, the National Armed Forces, and the National Party. The PZPR took over all this material unlawfully.

On 10 February, the SDRP Supreme Council resolved to set up theCentral Archives of the Polish Left. The core of these archives is to consist of the PZPR Central Archives. The same resolution says that documents which are not of "left-wing origin" will be transferred to the state.

If that happens, an enormous quantity of archival material, which is our national heritage and a documentation of our history, including material dating from the era of absolute PZPR power, will not be in the hands of the state, where it belongs.

All the archives of the former PZPR, in other words the archives of the central-level and regional-level apparatus, plus the PZPR Central Committee Archives, which are hastily being converted into the Central Archives of the Polish left, must be transferred to the state archives and become part of the state's archive resources. They must not become the property of one or more parties. At the same time, these archives could be provided with premises and qualified personnel to look after them.

There are two solutions. Either the commission dealing with the PZPR's property should reach a decision on this matter, or the SDRP itself should abandon its claim to these archives. Whichever solution is chosen, it must be chosen quickly, otherwise, when the time comes to transfer these archives, there might not be much left to transfer.

SDRP Membership Seen Increasing Rapidly

AU0903091190 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Mar 90 p 1

["Roch"-signed report: "SDRP Complains About Harassment"]

[Text] Leadership representatives of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP]—Aleksander Kwasniewski, Leszek Miller, and Wieslaw Huszcza—told journalists on 5 March that the party now has about 47,000 members. Most of them fall into the 35 - 45 age group, and the majority are former members of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].

There are numerous reports that many people who hold left-wing views, including former PZPR members, are being harassed in their workplaces and places of residence. This is something that the SDRP considers unacceptable. Kwasniewski said: "This could lead to one nomenklatura being replaced by another one and to the emergence of a new political monopoly. The party declares that it will defend the interests of people who are being harassed and persecuted."

The SDRP is prepared to transfer some of the archives of the former PZPR Central Committee to the State Archive. (However, L. Miller believes that this may cause embarrassment to some members of the present government....). It also wants to surrender about half the buildings built with party funds so that they can be used for other purposes.

Walesa Says Aid Needed for E. European Reform

LD0203145290 Prague CTK in English 1258 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 2 (CTK)—Poland's Solidarity leader Lech Walesa has stressed the necessity of reforms in the East European countries if they want to return to Europe.

In an interview for today's Czechoslovak independent paper LIDOVE NOVINY, he said: "Our former systems proved to be unreformable. We need assistance of others if we want to embark on the right road. Czechs and Poles are not able to do so by themselves. We are not able to pen ourselves to the world without Europe and the world," Lech Walesa said.

He stressed the necessity of equalizing the economic level of the East European countries. Then it would be much easier to tackle political problems.

As regards the Soviet troops withdrawal, Lech Walesa said that "he will do his best to achieve their departure." He expressed support for the demand of the Polish Government to participate in the talks on the reunification of Germany. "The Soviet Union as an ally and partner should accept our demands. If it does not then the Warsaw Treaty is good for nothing."

Lech Walesa pointed out that he is to meet Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in the nearest future as in his view "it is necessary to establish personal contacts as soon as possible." Asked why he did not meet with the Czechoslovak president during his January visit to Poland, Lech Walesa said that "Mr president met for talks with people who are his friends and who have the same way of thinking so that his own presence would have been useless".

Walesa Warns Against Solidarity 'Monopoly'

LD0803212590 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Now a quotation: If it were any other government, I would have gone on strike with you already a hundred times but it is our government, so despite my heartache and tears, I agree with it and support it, for there is no other program in Poland. Lech Walesa said this at a news conference with the participation of the coastal workers—this time employees of the merchant port on Gdynia.

Lech Walesa also said: Do you know that some people dream about transforming the Solidarity banner into a banner of a Solidarity Party?

[Begin Walesa recording] I do not agree that Lech Walesa and Solidarity should be a monopoly, not because we would do such a thing but because after us there will be other people: Stalins, Beiruts, and others, and they will take advantage of it. For this reason already today I am fighting against Walesa's monopoly and against the monopoly of Solidarity. We were supposed, and are supposed, to build a democratic and pluralistic system and not substitute one monopoly with another.

At the congress I shall propose that we preserve the banner of the struggle and keep it for our children so that they can fight under this banner against us and against our laws. When we go to work, it is not very good when one sees the Solidarity banner on slaughter houses and butcher shops. Farmers and workers and others...[changes thought] We are damaging the beautiful banner which has done so much in defeating communism. As for whether they will listen to me, I have some doubts. But I will propose and ask that the first banner—which has served its purpose after 45 years and has not been soiled—be saved for other generations who can use it in their struggle. This is my concept. [end recording]

Senate Adopts Stance on 1968 Anti-Semitism

AU0703132990 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 5 Mar 90 p 3

["Stance" adopted by the Senate of the Republic in Warsaw on 2 March]

[Text] In March 1968, the party and state authorities at the time unleashed a political campaign that was said to be a struggle against Zionism. Academic and intellectual circles became victims of the operation. However, the main victims were, first and foremost, Polish citizens of Jewish descent. A definite majority of the people who were affected by the persecution left our country, taking with them bitter memories of the injustices and humiliations they had suffered.

The March 1968 campaign was a tool in the struggle that was being waged within the ruling communist camp, but the odium prompted by those shameful deeds and injustices affected all of Polish society, and caused great political and moral harm to the Polish nation and state.

Our nation, as a community that is faithful to Christian traditions and the principles of European civilization, is not responsible for the events of March 1968. This does not free individuals or even entire communities from having to carry out a moral reckoning with regard to attitudes at that time, to the words and deeds that have remained in the collective memory to this day.

The great majority of Polish society expects the republic to produce an appropriate political and moral assessment of the events at that time. This is because the republic has taken over, as part of the sorry legacy of the previous system of government, numerous wrongs that were committed against people; wrongs that should be rectified in accordance with the principles of democracy, pluralism, and liberty and in the name of respect for human and civil rights.

The Senate of the Polish Republic expresses profound regret over the disgraceful excesses that occurred in our country during those March events. The Senate invites those who were forced to leave the country following 1968 to return to the republic, which is now the fatherland of all who have links with Poland, its traditions, cultural values, and through personal choice, regardless of their descent, views, religion, or political convictions.

Biographical Information on Iliescu Published

PM2802153890 Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Feb 90 p 4

[Patrice Claude dispatch: "An Old Party Hand"]

[Text] Bucharest—The interview with the Romanian leader should have taken place on Thursday, 22 February, but that day, neither the head of state nor his immediate aides went to their offices in the old Grand Assembly building on the Metropolite [as published] hill in Bucharest. Why?

That day, members of his entourage later explained to us, the Army was placed on red alert and Chairman Iliescu was "taken to a safe place under close guard." Why? There were "reasons to fear a coup involving the assassination of the chairman." As we now know, the threat did not materialize on 22 February any more than on 12 January—the other date frequently mentioned in government circles in connection with an abortive coup. Is this the effect of paranoia or reality? Only one thing is certain: The leadership core of the ruling team, like most of the Romanian political world, constantly lives in a state of tension, haunted by the fear of a counterrevolution.

During the interview, one of the few granted to the press, Chairman Ion Iliescu appeared to be warm but wound up—if not very strained—although he had perfect control over his emotions and the expression of his thoughts.

Mr. Iliescu, who will be 60 years old on 3 March, is married but has no children. He is the son of a railroad worker fired for trade union activity in 1931 then sent to a labor camp until 1944 for communist activity. Ion Iliescu describes his father, expelled from the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] the same year following a conflict with Gheorghiu-Dej (Romania's first communist head of state), as "a nonconformist."

When his father died in 1945, the current head of the Provisional Council of National Unity became active in the party youth organizations. He was leader of the Romanian Students Union from 1956 to 1960 and worked "with Jiri Pelikan" (future director of Czechoslovak television during the Prague spring—LE MONDE editor's note) in the International Students Union Secretariat when Pelikan "was chairman of it." According to him, Nicolae Ceausescu's arrival in power marked "a period of openness, a ray of hope" which culminated in 1968 with Bucharest's condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

"In my view," Ion Iliescu reminisced, "Brezhnev's policy against the Prague Spring was like the role played by the Russian empire against the 1848 revolution." Invited to visit the Soviet Union that year in his capacity as youth minister "on a Komsomol [Communist Youth League] anniversay, I publicly expressed, in Moscow, my opposition to the repression" (in Czechoslovakia—LE MONDE editor's note). The worst thing, he added, was that those events, by creating a consensus behind Ceausescu, "enabled him to consolidate his personal dictatorship in Romania."

"We did not immediately realize that," Mr. Iliescu continued and that year (1968) he became a full member of the RCP Central Committee. It was only in the summer of 1971, "at a meeting on ideological questions" that he, who was then secretary for propaganda, dared to oppose the Conductor for the first time. "I refused to back his program which increased personal power and the cult of personality. I was accused of intellectualism and was eliminated from the party's central leadership."

Pushed to the fringes, sent to the provinces as party first secretary for Iasi, capital of Moldavia, from 1971 to 1979, Ion Iliescu then became chairman of the Water Resources National Council. "It was not uninteresting," he now says. "After all, I was trained as a mining engineer." But the "genius of the Carpathians" had ideas about everything. In the early eighties, Ion Iliescu again opposed "his megalomaniacal and uneconomic plans for major infrastructure works."

In 1984, therefore, Romania's future leader again lost his post and was made director of a small state unit for the publication of technical and scientific works in Bucharest, surrounded by a team of technicians and authors who greatly admired him; some have now followed him into the corridors of the provisional government. Ion Iliescu, who is at present still on the payroll of his publishing house, was officially at his director's post when the 22 December revolution broke out....

Poll Shows Iliescu Most Popular Politican

AU0803183190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1548 GMT 8 Mar 90

["The Top of Personalities"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/3/1990—Ion Iliescu is the most popular of all Romanian personalities, shows an opinion poll taken by the Bucharest newspaper "TINERETUL LIBER." Sixty per cent of the 820 young people inquired said he was the man to rule the country for the benefit of the Romanian people.

The president of the Provisional National Unity Council is followed by Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party, with more than 14 per cent of the options. Placed third is Petre Roman 5.5 per cent. Other personalities gathered below two per cent of the vote.

The batch polled by "TINERETUL LIBER" is not altogether representative. Most of the subjects are young people 16-35 years of age and nine in ten are townsfolk. Young workers account for 30 per cent. Pupils and students, on the one hand, and young intellectuals, on the other hand, hold an equal weight 24 per cent. More than 70 per cent of them all said they had taken part or were participating in the revolution.

Doina Cornea Criticizes Current Leadership

AU0803191590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] ROMPRES news agency, citing AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE, reports that at a news conference in Paris, former Romanian dissident Doina Cornea—who is visiting there on the occasion of the International Women's Day—reiterated her accusations against the new leadership in Romania. She reproached the leadership for using to its own advantage the quasi-totality of the former secret police, Securitate.

Daily Comments on Judge's Depression, Suicide

AU0903080790 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 3 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Sergiu Andon article: "Fear of Nothingness—Why the President of the Team of Judges That Tried Ceausescu Committed Suicide"]

[Text] Yesterday, at noon, a piece of sensational news "hit like an earthquake" our telephones at the public relations editorial board: "The president of the team of judges in charge of Ceausescu's trial was assassinated at the Central Military Hospital." Without asking for too many details, we jumped into a car from our pool and drove off to check out this information. Passing by Lenin's monument, we noted several demonstrators rallied there: They were either asking for the demolition or for the maintenance of the monument. My first thought, unjustified and absurd, was that there is a close connection between the three events. What three events? Well, the Timisoara trial was scheduled for that day and the "coincidence" with the "crime" in Bucharest could not have been accidental. We were already thinking in terms of such a headline as "Timisoara is Crying, Bucharest is Bleeding." To conclude the summary of a situation which, as a matter of fact, only belonged to the realm of rumors, we inform our readers that less than an hour later, we had learned yet another version—namely, that two helicopters flew over the respective hospital at the time of the attempt on the judge's life, and that, of course, there had also been some shooting.

Like many such situations, there was a grain of truth in that, or better yet, two grains of truth, which were blown out of proportion.

Indeed, helicopters flew over the city that morning, but their surveillance had nothing to do with the death of the military judge, which actually occurred 24 hours before, in circumstances that we will describe below.

The team that tried the Ceausescu couple was chaired by Justice Major General Gica Popa. It was the highest task of his life. In what circumstances did he fulfill it? Well, one answer is clear and undeniable: in the limelight of the whole world's attention. Not everybody can easily shoulder such a huge burden. Maybe that was why the leadership of the Justice Ministry decided to move the judge from the Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal to the ministry's specialized directorate, so that he could recover from that overwhelming task.

That was not enough. Still, nobody can be reproached for failing to anticipate the tragedy, which, in light of the dramatic event, might have struck someone as a logical possibility. The judge was deeply marked by the two or three hours when he was at the center of history. Future psychology might be able to discover the ways and laws according to which an evil spirit, particularly a couple of evil spirits, crushed by the finger of death, disperse themselves into thin air and haunt, as phantoms of evil, the source that sent them into the netherworld. However, until we discover these laws with future psychology, we have to make do with the features of contemporary reality, which, unfortunately, does not lack a certain cult of feuding, a certain voluptuousness of instability, and an exaltation of the evil part in each of us. It is not all that difficult to understand how such an "involved man," like the signatory of the death sentence passed on the Ceausescu couple, might have taken over, magnified, and even distorted the signs of life and new spirituality, which are different from what he probably expected at the time when he signed, with his conscience, the terrible verdict.

There is evidence that General Popa was pensive and afraid, was staring vaguely for long stretches of time, changed his address, which he kept secret, and showed other signs of anxiety. A more accommodating society might have noticed these signs and sent him on a recovery trip, even to the seas of the south; why not?

But General Popa stayed among us, occupied his new bureau, staring absent-mindedly out the window, alone with his thoughts. When he was not doing this and commuted back to tumultuous reality, he only saw discord, invectives, and ever more frequent incitements to cross-country conflicts.

During the morning of 1 March—when his fellow citizens were busy setting up political parties, exchanging March amulets, devising ideas about a better world, or spreading stupefying news—he carried out a plan which he had prepared in advance with his characteristic pedantry. He wrote the note, a facsimile of which we reproduced here. [ADEVARUL carries on page 1 a facsimile of the handwritten suicide note, with a transcription of the note alongside it, which reads: "I could find no other solution to free myself from the fear and terror that would have made the rest of my life unbearable. I want no flowers or wreaths from my colleagues, just one wreath from my family. I have no reproachs against anyone; I have forgotten them all. The letter for my family is in the locker. Oh God, please help me to overcome this hard ordeal. Consideration should be shown when telling the news to my wife."] This note made reference to two other letters in his locker, where—since he was a careful husband and father—he also left an envelope with 10,465 lei for his family. He put the note into the pocket of his coat, then took out his self-defense gun, a Markarov 9 millimeter revolver, and shot himself once in his right temple. He performed this fateful act while sitting in the chair of his new office. The bullet went through his brain, hit the locker, ricocheted into the wall behind, hit the window, and fell on the floor.

The time was about 1130 [0900 GMT]. His bureau colleague (who was also on his panel of judges at the 25 December trial!) had been absent from the bureau for 10 minutes. The person closest nearby was typist Maria Baloiu, who was working in a neighboring office; she probably took the shot for the noise of his typewriter or of some exhaust pipe. Immediately after the body was discovered, the wounded judge was rushed to the Central Military Hospital, where he survived, without any chance of recovery, until 1345 [1145 GMT] on Thursday. The news began to spread fast on Friday, presumably when the corpse was transported to the mortuary.

The inquiry in the case is led by Major Dan Carp, chief military prosecutor of the Bucharest Military Prosecutor's Office. The hypothesis of suicide seems to be airtight. However, in accordance with legal stipulations, the prosecutor will have his final say only after the completion of some legal procedures that are compulsory in such cases; namely, the compilation and endorsement of the medical- legal examination report, the ballistic report, and so forth.

Without claiming to be able to come up with new findings—except for some stirrings that may lie in the deep recesses of our souls—we will return to this incident with new details in a subsequent issue, because we think that they deserve to be known, if only to show respect for this dramatic and undeserved epilogue.

Minister Announces Plans for Ceausescu Property

AU0603105490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0911 GMT 6 Mar 90

["The Scope of Mystification—One Boeing for Sale..."—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharst, ROMPRES, 6/2/1990—Among the measures announced by the National Defence Minister in connection with the late dictator's property is the sale or transfer to public or military sectors of part of the assets. One of his two Boeings will be sold (negotiations with two foreign companies are under way) with the second due to be used on the country's international lines. Il- 18 and Rombac aircraft will be used on commercial and special governmental flights, AN-25 airplanes will be operated on domestic and world lines as well as for training. Helicopters will be used for commercial service, taxi service included, as well as for training. The luxury presidential ships Snagov and Danubiu will be operated for tourist purposes wherefore two more vessels will be assigned, with a third to go to the offshore petroleum exploitation company Petromar.

Corneliu Manescu on Ceausescu's Diplomacy

AU0703155490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1451 GMT 7 Mar 90

["Interview—Statements: Depreciation of the Diplomatic Act"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/3/1990—There were years when Romania pursued a highly valuable foreign policy. Together with other states we initiated well-appreciated resolutions and actions. But Nicolae Ceausescu's interference was conducive to a depreciation of the diplomatic act, stated Corneliu Manescu, chairman of the standing foreign policy commission of the Provisional National Unity Council, in an interview with the Free Romanian Television.

Mr Corneliu Manescu, ex-minister of foreign affairs, a dissident during the Communist regime, mentioned that the Securitate gradually seized most of the posts in the Foreign Ministry and embassies, thus holding supremacy in the domain.

Nicolae Ceausescu held the view that diplomacy was not a profession and he used to send to diplomacy all those who failed in other sectors, Mr Manescu also said. There was an understanding on the ratio between diplomats and the Securitate people, but it had always been violated to the latter's favour, Mr Manescu said in conclusion.

PNUC Releases Agenda for 9 Mar Session

AU0903110190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0942 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/3/1990—Friday morning [9 March] the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] resumed its work in [the] plenum in Bucharest.

The session is chaired by Cazimir Ionescu, PNUC vice-president, assisted by the Council's president, Ion Iliescu, and the other vice- presidents Radu Cimpeanu, Ion Minzatu, Ion Caramitru, Karoly Kiraly.

The agenda includes:

1. Prime Minister Petre Roman's answers to questions asked by PNUC members in the 23 February session. Discussions on the surveys made by the prime minister and the minister of agriculture and the food industry in the 23 February session of the Council.
2. A draft decree-law on the election of Romania's Parliament and president.
3. Measures to fill the vacancies on the PNUC Executive Bureau.
4. Decrees-laws discussed and approved by the Council's Executive Bureau in its 7 March meeting:

Decree-law on amending article 2 of the decree no. 262 of 5 June 1957;
Decree-law on the creation of the theatrical stamp;
Decree-law on the transition to a five-day work week in state units;

Decree-law on repealing certain legal provisions concerning the pay of the workers of construction-assembly units;
Decree-law on the granting of rights to the underground operating personnel;
Decree-law on the granting of rights to the railway personnel;
Decree-law on the full and shorter military service for young men.

Dictatorship Led to Economic, Social 'Disaster'

AU0703180090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1555 GMT 7 Mar 90

["The Scope of Mystification—The Equation of Disaster in Europe's Ethiopia"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/3/1990—A—for the time being—preliminary study was worked out by the National Statistics Commission of Romania to outline the real elements of the equation of the country's economic and social disaster in the communist era, and set forth a scenario for economic reconstruction.

The Ceausescu dictatorship set its policy on an obsessive option for an as high as possible rate of accumulation. In view was forced [as received] economic growth, exclusively based on extensive factors, which upset economic structures, drained raw materials resources at a fast pace, destroyed the correlation between the energy base and production units, and completely ignored efficiency and profitability criteria. Owing to that "strategy," early in the 1980s Romania turned into the most poor country of Europe. The 50- per cent weight of industry in the structure of investment speaks of the disbalance to which agriculture, transport, telecommunications, housing construction, communal and other services, education, culture and the arts were deliberately subjected to as they all were earmarked the other half of the development fund. In 45 years, Romania allotted only a bit more than 31 per cent of its total investment to housing construction, transport and other social needs, whereas Bulgaria earmarked 38 per cent, Czechoslovakia 44 per cent, Poland 50 per cent and Hungary 57 per cent and we stop right here since going westwards the discrepancy gets overwhelming altogether. Most of the investment in industry—30 per cent or so—was channeled towards sectors that were heavy energy consumers. Moreover, as if to defy and notion of efficiency and even common sense, fields were developed which could be supplied with raw materials only to an extremely low extent. Units in the oil refining industry are more than three times larger than the country's oil production, while the steel this country produces does not make up for the iron ore imports from Brazil and Australia. And the list of examples could go on and on. Seen from another angle, this investment is irrational. The concomitant start of works on several projects led to failure to complete them on time, and the causes behind that situation were the same—raw materials shortage, lack of special equipment, absence of manpower. Furthermore, because of an autarchic option for equipment made in this country, even when their manufacture cost more than their imports would have, units were went on line with years' delay and chain economic distortions cropped up.

By mid-December, for instance, there was talk, with "patriotic pride," about the 5,200 billion lei worth of national wealth and of the 64 per cent of it allotted to fixed assets. More than half of them belong to industry and are worn-out physically—and in particular—morally, their state being the essential cause of poor quality, unsafety in operation, labour accidents. Most outworn are the fixed assets in scientific research (42 per cent), industry (38.8 percent) and transport (37.4 per cent). In this tables of fatigue, power machines and equipment and measuring and control apparatus place on a leading standing—5.5 per cent more outworn than the fixed assets in industry. [sentence as received]

Cathedral To Replace Workers' Heroes Memorial

AU0503105190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0928 GMT 5 Mar 90

["Religious Life—A 'Heroes of the Nation' Cathedral"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/3/1990—The Romanian minister of religious affairs put forth a proposal for the construction of a "Heroes of the Nation" cathedral on a hill overlooking Bucharest's Liberty Park.

It was also suggested that it commemorate the martyr Saint Anastasia observed every year on 22 December when communism was abolished in Romania through loss of life. A symbol of the nation's gratitude to its hero martyrs, the cathedral will also be a reparation for the harm done to the ancestral church and its places of worship in 45 years of communist rule.

Its construction on the site of today's memorial to the working- class heroes whose communist "heroism" was denounced would combine proximity to Bucharest's central area with tradition: The memorial was built on the place of the former unknown warrior's tomb which praised the nation's anonymous contribution to independence.

A contest will be launched to choose the best project.

'Pro Basarabia si Bucovina' Association Set Up

AU0503171990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1528 GMT 5 Mar 90

["The Banks of the Prut 'Pro Basarabia si Bucovina'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/3/1990—The cultural association "Pro Basarabia si Bucovina" has been set up. It belongs to no political party and aims at a natural integration of spiritual, cultural and artistic values of the Bessarabian and Bukovinian Romanians into the Daco-Roman space, free circulation, without visas and special permission, of the Romanians on both banks of the Prut, encouragement of scientific researches to re-establish the historical and geopolitical truth about the land between the Prut and the Dnister, the gathering of documents regarding the affiliation of Bessarabia and North Bukovina to the Romanian space, support of Romanian language in schools and churches all over Bessarabia and North Bukovina, arrangement of cultural, artistic and scientific events, commemorations, conferences and congresses with the participation of the Romanians everywhere, and so on.

Any person who adheres to the association's statute may become a member of "Pro Basarabia si Bucovina".

The association's founding meeting elected its executive board with a unanimity of votes, which includes Alexandru Chiriac, Alexe Chistruga, Gheorghe Copil, Victor Craciun, Gheorghe Dirzu, Valeriu Graur, Nicolae Pan Halipa, Nicolae Lupan, Grigore Filip-Lupu, Victor Negara, Ion Puiu, Sergiu Rosca, Iulia Scutarucristea, Nicolae Spinu and Vasile Tepordei.

In its first organizational session, the board elected Nicolae Lupan as its chairman, Ion Puiu and Vasile Tepordei vicechairmen and Valeriu Graur as its general secretary.

Committee for Radio-TV Independence Set Up

AU2702125690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1209 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/2/1990—"The Civic Committee for the Independence of Romanian Radiotelevision" was established in Bucharest as an autonomous nongovernmental public opinion organism. The committee aims that the Romanian radio and television become really independent and that its independence is observed by all political and social institutions. Political parties and social organizations are represented on the committee which pursues, among other things, to draft a new radiotelevisiion act and to attract great personalities who can give a truthful uncensored image of home and foreign events.

Local TV Station Set Up in Pitesti

AU0703211490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1932 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/3/1990—A local independent TV station has been inaugurated in Pitesti (120 km north-west of the capital), which has programs twice a week on Tuesdays and Fridays, between 16:45 [1445 GMT] and 17:45 [1545 GMT] and 22:00 [2000 GMT]-23:00 [2100 GMT] on channel nine, the same with the program 2 of the national station that runs between 18:00 [1600 GMT] and 22:00 [2000 GMT].

The Pitesti station, which covers some 35 km around the city, is the beginning of a future TV studio similar to those in Cluj, Timisoara, Tirgu Mures, Iasi, Bacau. The producers plan to present information of local interest, debates on various themes, political included, music, cartoons and entertainment programs.

New TV Chief Theoderescu Promises Changes

PM2302085090 Paris LE MONDE in French
22 Feb 90 p 17

[Michel Colonna d'Istria dispatch: "Romanian Television Under Pressure From Demonstrators"]

[Excerpt] Bucharest—[passage omitted] It was because he combined the job of Front spokesman and television director for too long that Aurel Dragos Munteanu was forced after several weeks to abandon the office which he occupied on the 11th floor of the television station—the very office where the National Salvation Front met in the first few days.

Razvan Theoderescu, his successor since 12 February, is aware of that. This expert on Renaissance history, who speaks perfect French, admits that "using television to call for a demonstration in support of the Front at the end of January was a blunder." He protested his good intentions: "I am carrying out this task with the melancholy and interest of the art historian that I am. Once the elections are over, I will return to my university chair. I want to demonstrate rather than state that I am free and independent. I have allowed the television to discuss the Army's problems, which my predecessors did not dare to do. I have decided to hold free elections at all television levels in two or three weeks' time. I want to launch competitions to recruit new faces, and put young people, who took part in the events, on television."

In the week since he took over, television has already begun moving toward greater openness. Unedited amateur pictures of the revolution in Brasov and the start of a series on the Securitate's crimes are tangible signs of that. The free speech of the first few days, gradually limited to certain times, will be accompanied by a regular "party platform" as the election campaign approaches.

However, the new regime's opponents continue to gather outside the television station every day. So much so, that programs are regularly interrupted by a communique from the "free television's free trade union" asking the demonstrators to go elsewhere to solve problems for which the television network is not responsible.

Indeed, it is impossible to wipe out the habits of decades in a few weeks. The 1930 evening news proves that. Announcers in ties spend 30 minutes slowly reading through eight long topics on domestic policy and social problems before reading a series of dispatches from abroad for an additional 10 minutes, briefly illustrated by two short pictures of Japan and Lebanon. Technology is, of course, partly responsible for this dull presentation. Just three Betacam cameras, insufficient editing desks, and a glaring lack of staff, are just as much obstacles to change as mentalities.

Some of the faces who disappeared years ago have returned: Christian Topescu, the popular announcer and sports commentator ousted under Ceausescu, has returned to the studios, as has the most popular announcer of children's programs.

The demonstrators however want more. For many Romanians the new government is just an ersatz communism. Everybody comments at length on the photographs in the subway of Ion Iliescu playing chess with the Conducator. The demonstrators chant "Ceausescu, don't be sad, Iliescu is a Communist." For Calin Angelescu, a poet and demonstrator, only a radical change of team is acceptable: "Don't forget that at first Ceausescu, too, represented a new departure." Even if the new media chiefs are, like chief editor "Titi" Popescu, journalists who took over during the events, many think it is unacceptable for them to keep their positions. "Only those who went too far, and lied too much will be forced to step down. The others must be absolved," Razvan Theodorescu commented after he had just accepted the retirement of Constantin Petre, chairman under the previous regime who had remained number two since the December events.

Mr. Theodorescu, already nicknamed "Kojak" because of his complete baldness, has installed loudspeakers to address the demonstrators. He knows that he must act quickly and is promising changes of personnel "within two weeks."

"A heretic of television," to cite his own definition, he wants "to give Free Romanian Radio and Television the means it deserves. There is little modern equipment, the rest is neolithic. The pure kitsch of Ceausescu's television has gone, but a great deal still needs to be done. [Passage omitted]

* Interview With Head of TV Trade Union

90EB0286A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Feb 90 p 2

[Interview with Dumitru Iuga, head of the Romanian TV Free Trade Union, by Mirela Roznoveanu; place and date not given]

[Text] [ROMANIA LIBERA] Mr. Dumitru Iuga, many viewers have watched you on screen as chairman of the Romanian Television Free Trade Union [TFTU] attempting to publicize the tensions currently affecting your institution.

[Iuga] I want to specify that we're not talking about a power struggle between the trade union (which was established on 19 January 1990) and the management. The conflict is between the old ceausescu [as published] structures that have remained firmly standing, and the pressing needs of the 22 December Revolution. It is my opinion that there can be no professional continuity in television without a moral continuity. As long as there still are so many compromised people, who bent over backwards to serve the ceausescu dictatorship, we believe that they cannot hold any guarantee for the idea of freedom that television promotes at present.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] I understand that the trade union was born out of such a need that was felt by the Romanian TV personnel.

[Iuga] The existence of this trade union for Romanian TV is an absolute must. It is the only force capable of guaranteeing the process of liberalization, democratization, and moral healing of this institution. This process must be based on the best and most positive elements of Free Romanian TV, on the competent and valuable people who waited in the shadows and who now must shed the fears that froze their creativity for so many years. It must also be based on a realistic evaluation of each one's abilities, on a natural classification of values, and on genuine cooperation among people of goodwill who truly want Romanian Free TV to become a demanding institution defending and supporting the dignity, morality, and professionalism of its programs.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] In other words, is the Romanian TV free or is it not?

[Iuga] Romanian TV is at the moment viewed with a great deal of suspicion. This suspicion can be eliminated by more markedly and more directly involving TV personnel in the country's social life. Television staffers must go to where the action is, must seek and discover the truth impartially, neutrally, and objectively. They must reveal the truth, however bitter it may be. We must not today come out with programs put together according to the old patterns. A free television is achieved by people who think freely, freed of dogmas, by courageous people willing to assume responsibilities and free of fear. I plead for bringing in young people, members of the generation that hasn't been compromised and that can ensure objectivity. Such people should be hired on a competitive basis, not on the basis of nepotism. There have been no competitions in our television for almost 20 years, and the ones that were held, were rigged: The winners were chosen on the basis of their files and selected by the former press department.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] What is happening today with the TFTU?

[Iuga] Our trade union is in the process of consolidation and expansion. It consists of more than 1,000 technical, production, artistic, economic, live broadcasting, and directing personnel; very likely all TV personnel will soon join the trade union. We are particularly concerned with pay raises and with improving the quality of life of television personnel. Another of our objectives is to secure the technical equipment needed to expand programming now that we have a second channel and substantially longer broadcasting schedules. And since you gave us an opportunity to express our trade union's viewpoint, on behalf of the TFTU I want to greet all the genuinely free trade unions of Romania.

* Handling of Letter to Cornea Prompts Dismissals

90EB0295B Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 14 Feb 90 p 1

[Article by ADEVARUL management council: "Two Firings From our Paper"]

[Text] The management council of ADEVARUL, taking note of the photograph and accompanying caption published on the first page of the daily newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA on 13 February 1990, relating to the forwarding to our editorial staff of letters addressed to Mrs. Doina Cornea, proceeded to reconstruct the scenario of this regrettable incident, and is now in a position to state the following:

On 9 February 1990, Mr. Constantin Moraru, who was sent by our paper to obtain documents relating to the way in which citizens' demands are handled by the Hearing Commission of the National Salvation Front (NSF), received from Mr. V. Dragan and Mr. M. Baltatu a bundle of letters and picture postcards, along with two books, all addressed to Mrs. Doina Cornea.

Whether old or recent, the letters in question had been collected at the NSF, arriving there or at other addresses (National Christian Peasant Party and Democratic Party, Television Center, Central Post Office, etc).

The reason why Mr. V. Dragan and Mr. M. Baltatu handed the bundle in question over to Constantin Moraru was the fact that the latter told them he was to leave for Cluj, along with Miss Lelia Munteanu and news photographer E. Dichiseanu, employees of ours, on a documentation trip on behalf of the paper.

After returning to the editorial office on the afternoon of 9 February, Mr. Constantin Moraru handed the bundle in question over to Lelia Munteanu, explaining what the bundle contained and asking her to keep it until the next day, when they were to leave together for Cluj. News photographer E. Dichiseanu, as the third member of the group getting ready for the trip, was also present all this time.

Miss Lelia Munteanu placed the bundle in a drawer and went on about her business. After approximately two hours, Mr. E. Dichiseanu appeared in her office and, stating that the focus control of his camera was out of order, asked her for something, either some writing or a book, with which to do a few tests. She offered him an album of Byzantine art. He refused, alleging that it would not serve the purpose, and then asked for permission to take trial photographs with the bundle of letters that were to be taken to Cluj and of whose existence he had learned previously. Lelia Munteanu gave him the bundle without objecting and without giving a thought to any kind of ulterior diabolical motive. Mr. Dichiseanu returned the bundle of letters after approximately one-half hour, during which period he had gone back to his office to take photographs.

Circumstances beyond their control prevented the three from reaching Cluj during the following days, for which reason the letters in question were returned to the NSF Hearing Commission.

We publicly apologize to Mrs. Doina Cornea for this regrettable, unhappy, and reprehensible incident.

All these details coincide in all respects with the note reproduced below which was sent to our editorial office by Mr. V. Dragan and Mr. M. Baltatu. There is a discrepancy on a single point. These gentlemen assert that the incident took place on 8 February. We have correlated the date in question with many other details, and maintain that it happened on 9 February. We believe that the date of 8 February was given by mistake.

After analyzing the circumstances detailed above and considering Constantin Moraru's violation of the newsman's code and his failure to adhere to our paper's program of independence to be inexcusable, and also finding news photographer Eugen Dichiseanu's actions to offer clear proof of betrayal of the newspaper for which he worked, the management council has decided to dismiss these two persons, ordering that their employment contract be terminated.

Because of her careless attitude, Miss Lelia Munteanu has been relieved of her position as department head.

The Note

To: THE MANAGEMENT COUNCIL OF ADEVARUL

Mr. Constantin Varvara and Mr. Constantin Moraru of the daily ADEVARUL appeared at noon on 8 February at the public relations and mass information media department of the National Salvation Front Council, in the office at No. 5, Ilie Pintilie Boulevard. While documents were being issued to them, Mr. Moraru, telling us that he was about to leave for Cluj with other colleagues of his, asked us if the cases received for hearing also included situations in Cluj which might be examined and resolved locally. We had no unsolved problems in that city, but an opportunity did present itself for sending to Mrs. Doina Cornea (whose address is unknown to us) a large number of letters and postcards (45, all unopened), along with two books, which had come to us from the central post office—Mrs. Cornea's address being unknown to the senders—we felt that the newsmen from ADEVARUL could facilitate forwarding of this correspondence to the addressee personally, as a goodwill gesture, on the occasion of the projected trip to Cluj. This was the reason why we turned the items over to Mr. Moraru, who was to confirm for us that he had delivered them. (V. Dragan, M. Baltatu).

* Youth Paper Rejects Return of King Michael

27000002C Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER
in Romanian 11 Jan 90 p 1

[Cristian Dumitrescu article: "What Does the Former King Michael Want?"]

[Excerpts] Our colleague from the celebrated PARIS MATCH, Arnaud Bizot [passage omitted] showed us the latest issue of his review, some 32 pages on the Romanian Revolution. At the end of the report there is an interview with former King Michael, who abdicated four decades ago, an interview in which he says that he is ready to respond to any request or proposal that the Romanians might make to him. More directly, leaving diplomacy aside, as a matter of fact, he would return to his old position. In France, the press is free and you can make any type of statement on your own responsibility if you pay for advertising space. Now, the press is free in our country and opinions can be expressed freely. Mr. Michael Hohenzollern: The people, the heroic youth of Romania dethroned a "royalty" which oppressed us for a quarter of a century and tortured us like Christ, not so we could have new "beloved leaders" or kings, but for freedom, dignity, democracy—even if a constitutional monarchy would be better than a despotic "monarchy" of the medieval type [such as that] of the former dictator. Between Romania and any form of non-democracy, Mr. Michael, there are the tombs of the martyrs [who died] for our freedom, over which there can lie only the immaculate mantle of the first snowfall and, never, absolutely never will they be forgotten. In the name of these heroes and of the cry of "No violence" which was carried on the lips of the persons under the tanks, we are building a better, open, free society. In the name of this freedom and democracy, the National Salvation Front Council guarantees to all Romanians the possibility of returning to the country and regaining their citizenship. If you were born here, if you remember the taste of our bread and water and if you long for this threshhold of paradise called Romania, you, too, Mr. Michael, can benefit from the law which was recently publicized. But remember that the Romanian people do not need kings. It is only for the people themselves that the titles "Your Highness" or "Your Majesty" can be accepted.

* Youth Influx Increases Timisoara Unemployment

27000002A Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER
in Romanian 23 Jan 90 pp 1, 3

[Gheorghe Crisan article: "Problem of Unemployment in Timisoara"]

[Excerpts] In the Directorate for Work and Social Protection Problems in Timis County, problems to be solved by specialized cadres pile up with each passing day. This situation is a result, to a great extent, of the (natural) impatience of people in seeing their complaints addressed. Until recently, these complaints had no vehicle for resolution. A recent discussion with Mihail Punga, Uros Stoisin, and Pavel Nicolaevici, from this office, presented some guidelines for action which are being followed in these days of freedom.

For example, we learned that in Timisoara Municipality there are more than 20,000 families (at the time of the last recording period, in 1982, there were 25,000) who, although they have privately owned or state-owned housing, as well as jobs, cannot become officially recorded citizens of the city, with identity cards and permanent residence, due to the "closing of the borders" of the city! These include hundreds of graduates of institutions of higher education, who are especially necessary for industry and who have been "gathered up" by the Timisoara units by means of their "Satellite" sections in the villages. This state of affairs, which is being corrected, indicates something which should be noted: For the required labor force, the county is in a stable position with the number of persons seeking employment being equal to the number of those leaving the labor force in a normal way. This has been the case even under the restructuring of personnel by rearranging the figures of the plan!

However, there is an alarming trend, as a result of the fame of the martyr-city Timisoara, which has recently become an open city: a large influx of young people from other areas which is causing serious social problems and which must stop immediately. (Many young people come to the Directorate directly from the railroad station, carrying their baggage, looking for jobs.) This is why there are plans, at least for the near future, to employ only those workers who are residents in the municipality or, in the case of workers whose skills are in demand, only if the respective units provide housing in bachelor quarters.

Persons who have benefited from the amnesty have been objects of the attention of the responsible officials. More than 200 of these workers have already been reintegrated into their former collectives, since about 80 percent were being punished only for attempts to cross the border "fraudulently" and did not have any work problems.

Of course, in Timis County, a strong agricultural center of the country, the agricultural production cooperatives are a big "consumer" of the labor force, especially during the agricultural campaigns. (In 1989, more than 9,000 jobs were available.) There is a real "exodus" of workers from some parts of the country (although, in animal husbandry, in particular, there is a problem with the quality of the workers). In the stations for the mechanization of agriculture, one can note a tendency of the mechanics to direct themselves toward Timisoara's industry [passage omitted]

Great efforts are being made to satisfy young people by responding to their demands and to avoid unemployment. New solutions are needed, however, to diversify employment possibilities and [we need] to reconsider the current state of affairs. Some of these proposals presented by my interlocutors include: The proper orientation of young people in industrial secondary schools, so that young women do not study for difficult trades; the organization of vocational school after the 8th grade, primarily by an apprenticeship in a production capacity; the establishment of a definite list of trades for vocational school, in accordance with county needs; the expansion of the list of trades (including positions in small industry and the service sector), which would permit the absorption of the entire available labor force; the simplification of the approval system for the organization of training courses and stimulating the initiatives of units, in full accord with their own requirements; more effective propaganda on the advantages of work in labor-scarce sectors—agriculture, energy, etc.—and state support of these sectors through favorable measures.

* Political Situation in Moldavian SSR

90EB0302D Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 Feb 90 p 4

[Article by Georgi Stolnik, Novosti correspondent in Kishinev: "The Political Barometer in Kishinev"]

[Text] What will the weather be like tomorrow? The citizens of Kishinev have become accustomed to finding that out on the lighted panel in the Victory Square in the city center. In the past year, however, this square has also become the social and political barometer of the republic. So what does this barometer indicate on the eve of elections for the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR, scheduled for 25 February?

The central capital square has become the epicenter of almost all the demonstrations organized by the Moldavian Popular Front [MPF], a mass movement mainly of the Moldavian population of the republic. Older and current leaders of the republic are lowered from their pedestals there, and the historical events that linked the destinies of Bessarabia and Russia, of the Moldavian SSR and the Soviet Union, are being questioned. In this republic, with a ratio of 3.5 Moldavians to 1.5 million other nationalities, these facts have exacerbated ethnic tensions.

Recently, however, the needle on the barometer seems to incline toward "stormy weather." An important indication along this line was the republican electoral meeting called by the MPF. The sight of columns of people carrying tricolor flags and slogans such as, "Moldavians Unite!" and "We, in Our Home" seemed to leave no doubt as to the fact that the meeting was once against destined to turn into a demonstration of nationalist force and exclusivity.

But that did not happen. For the first time, this forum was accessible not only to MPF leaders, but also to republican leaders and representatives of the movement Gagauz Halki that defends the rights of the 160,000 Gagauts, of the Bulgarian association Renaissance, the Jewish Cultural Association, and other social groups.

It is possible that the atmosphere of the meeting reflected the positive changes that have occurred in the political situation of the republic when, after the beginning of December, Piotr Lucinski was elected first secretary of the Socialist Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. Taking the floor at the meeting, he once again appealed to dialogue and cooperation between the Communists and all the social-political movements in the republic, with a view to stabilizing and improving the political and economic situation. The fact that this appeal elicited a positive response from the population was confirmed by the slogans and speeches made in support of consolidating the healthy and progressive forces of the society.

So far, a moratorium declared by the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Moldavian SSR on any political actions that may worsen the situation is being observed throughout the republic. There appears to be a tendency to renounce extreme demands, too. Thus, the MPF rejected appeals heard in its midst for pulling the Moldavian SSR out of the USSR and annexing it to Romania. For the first time the possibility was confirmed of establishing a Russian language wing inside the MPF.

Nevertheless, this has been only one step toward finding a compromise. The Edinstvo (Unity) internationalist movement has not had its say yet, and it incorporates mostly the Russian population. Supporters of that movement were practically absent from the republican meeting. They still preserve in their memory the events of last July, when a meeting of the internationalist movement in Victory Square was disrupted by demonstrators carrying the Popular Front tricolor flags. Even today, loud groups of youth, carrying the same flags, are attempting to interrupt speakers of the internationalist movement at its preelectoral meetings.

Also absent from the republican meeting were representatives of the reunited Council of Working Collectives of Tiraspol (CRCM), who are the tone givers in the Dniester area, where the majority of the population is made up of Ukraines and Russians. At the CRCM initiative, a referendum was organized here, in which 96 percent of the population was in favor of economic autonomy for the Tiraspol region and for including it into the Dniester Autonomous Republic, should such a republic be established.

There is unrest in the southern districts, too, where there is a massive Gagaut population, and where the Gagauz Halki is attempting to establish an autonomous republic. Recently, under pressure brought to bear by that organization, Ilia Arnaut, candidate member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee was forced to resign, although for 15 years he was at the head of the Ceadir Lunga District Committee. He was accused of ignoring the issue of autonomy, which the Gagauz Halki believes is being unjustifiably delayed in the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR. Ilia Arnaut clearly stated the reasons for his resignation: "because of the situation, which has become more serious."

The situation is complex not only in the south, but throughout the republic, despite the appeals of the Communist Party and the Popular Front to consolidate the republic's progressive forces. Away from the MPF, the radicals insist on abrogating the 3 August 1940 Decree on the establishment of the Moldavian SSR and demand that "Moldavia should return to Romania." A painful process of separation of forces is underway, something that makes it difficult to seek paths toward compromise.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Moldavian SSR has suggested to respresentatives of all social-political movements to meet at a "round table." Everyone realizes that this is necessary, but this is very difficult to achieve in view of the colossal divergence of views on the past, present, and future of the republic. The results of the elections will show whom the people of this republic want to follow.

* Economic Advantages of Early Elections

90EB0302C Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 24 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Dr. Ovidiu Nicolescu article: "Elections and the Economy"]

[Text] The date of the elections, an issue under much discussion at this time, presents many facets: political, economic, social, etc. In the discussions taking place at the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] and in the press organs of the parties, the elections are naturally viewed under their political aspect.

In our opinion, economic arguments should "weigh" at least as much as the political ones. This statement is based on Romania's special situation, in which solutions to all our major problems concerning our future and the present management of the economy involve in the first place a number of political decisions. While in Italy or Greece the economy follows its natural course regardless of the country's political situation, regardless of whether the government is provisional or permanent, or whether parliamentary elections are scheduled in a few weeks or a few months, in our country the situation is exactly the reverse.

As we all know, in many enterprises and institutions work is far below the past level; many managerial factors at all levels, beginning with the ministries, don't have the necessary legitimacy and motivation to exercise their prerogatives concerning both present and future activities. Moreover, a new syndrom, very harmful to the national economy, especially at ministry and central levels, has been emerging and can be summed up as follows: Let's wait, let's stay put until the elections, then we'll see. The syndrome of "waiting and staying put until the elections" means that people don't become really involved in seeking solutions to urgent questions, discipline and control are slipping, negative decisions are taken, and bad situations are tolerated; the de facto neglect of the major issues of our future activities will take a "terrible revenge" on all of us economically and politically.

These factors and many similar others must be taken into account when discussing the date of the elections. We believe that there are at least four elements that speak for holding the elections as soon as possible.

Electing a president and a parliament, designating a government, and putting in motion a new political and administrative system at all levels, from national to communal, will ensure the legitimity of the leadership, which is an absolutely indispensable premise for the stability of Romania's economy. The greater the delay in achieving this legitimacy of the political and administrative decisionmaking factors, the longer the periods in which decisions cannot be adopted and implemented to move the people to resume normal activities and to achieve the quantity of products and services required by consumers and by the national economy. Other negative economic phenomena are simultaneously multiplying and deepening, such as inflation, deterioration in the foreign currency situation, drop in the national reserves of strategic products and raw material stocks, poorer product quality simultaneously with higher prices, etc.

Another factor in favor of holding the elections in May is the need to begin as soon as possible the process of economic reconstruction and of gradually effecting the transition to a profitable, market economy. Delaying this process means wasting valuable time which, in view of the growing economic crisis, will undermine people's morale and affect their present and future economic behavior. It is important to recall that the profound restructuring of the economy, if it is not to have dramatic socioeconomic consequences on the population, must proceed from a state of relative stability in the national economy. The situation is like that of a seriously ill patient who must undergo an operation. To maximize the patient's chances of survival and healing, his major functions must be restored in preparation for the operation.

An essential role in ensuring the normal running of the Romanian economy at present and in the future is played by economic relations with other countries. Currently even the signing and execution of economic contracts are difficult both because of our enterprises and of the fact that some of our commercial partners are being careful and are waiting. At the same time, all these interruptions in imports and exports have the most unfavorable consequences on the economic situation and consumer supplies, the effects of which are accumulating, are exacerbated by the passing time, and are becoming increasingly difficult to eliminate.

Along this line, another vitally important factor is that of attracting foreign capital to the Romanian economy. As it is clear to any person of goodwill, the Romanian economy cannot be restored and consumer supplies cannot be increased without the extensive utilization of efficient equipment, technologies, and know-how similar to those used in the developed countries, and without widely exporting Romanian products and services to foreign markets. But, the major and indispensable means of access to the above is by creating conditions to attract foreign capital to massively participate in Romanian economic activities, by using a wide range of mutually advantageous organizational and financial systems. The later the date of the elections, the greater the delay in effectively and widely utilizing advanced technologies and management and marketing systems, and the longer the delay before we and the national economy can reap the fruits of their utilization.

In view of the above arguments, we believe it is not advisable to postpone the elections any longer. Currently, the few percentage points more or less that a party may win by delaying the elections are less important for the people and for the general economic situation. The economic and social price of postponing the elections can be very costly. Consequently, it is essential that as soon as possible we ensure the political, legislative, administrative, and economic conditions, within in a real democracy, to halt the deepening economic crisis and to begin to restructure all economic activities, thus attaining a civilized living standard as soon as possible for each and every Romanian citizen.

* Filipescu Explains Resignation From PNUC

90EB0302A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Feb 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Radu Filipescu by Stefan Maier-Niculescu; place and date not given: "Confidence Must Be Continuously Justified"]

[Text] [ROMANIA LIBERA] Mr. Radu Filipescu, the question of ROMANIA LIBERA, which was also asked in writing in our 16 February issue, was: Why did you resign your position as an independent member of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC]?
[Filipescu] My position was very comfortable, but it could not express on an ongoing basis my view of political events when they occured, and I could not defend my ideals and beliefs all by myself.

I believe that each person must assume a certain political responsibility, and that absence of a clear attitude is no solution. My position has not yet clearly emerged. Initially I had great faith in the National Salvation Front [NSF], as I stated, on the condition that this faith be continuously justified. Within the PNUC, which coopted me as a member, I expressed several times my opposition or contrary views to certain decisions.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] For example?
[Filipescu] For example about the manner in which the NSF initially decided to participate in the elections. In the end the Front split into a party and a parliamentry group, but only as a result of protests. That had been my initial option, too, and I was sorry that the right decision was not made from the very beginning.

The PNUC Executive Bureau issued several decrees in the name of the entire council, which in fact had not been consulted. For example, the decree restricting demonstrations. Uncertainty concerning form may generate or mask an error of substance. I believe that the Front successfully carried out very important activities in the beginning, but after a while, instead of continuing the democratization process, it began to show a tendency to brake that process—perhaps out of inertia, or laziness.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Do you think that certain internal events occurred in the Front to damage its activities?
[Filipescu] I don't think that internal events caused more than temporary instability. For example, [in the case of] Mr. Mazilu. Then, several resolute and signficant positions were taken, but they were not well assimilated in their essence, [such as in the case of] Mrs. Doina Cornea and Mrs. Ana Blandiana. Practically speaking, there was no truly efficient opposition. Once again, I think that after a while the Front stopped taking the initiative in political and economic areas.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Do you have your own explanation for that phenomenon? Do you think that it happened because the Front was forced to run in "overdrive?"
[Filipescu] That may be the right explanation, if we consider the fact that the Front made other decisions, too, under the pressure of the masses or of domestic or foreign media. I came to a point where I no longer was sufficiently in agreement with the Front; I can say that I became alienated from the Front both emotionally and politically.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] I see, that would explain it; but if the explanations stop here, why not the Front?
[Filipescu] Yes, in line with this position, I could have continued to hold my independent political views, which are difficult to keep defining and revealing to those who trust you. This can be done by a party, if there is a party completely or at least partially in agreement with one's own views; the party can then represent one's thoughts and ideas. The idea of a party generally elicits reservations; the Front avoided the title, but the experience of so many countries for such a long time demonstrates the need for a political life centered on parties.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] In that case, the next question is, why the Republican Party?
[Filipescu] The first parties that were established, as well as the historical parties, did not convince me sufficiently. Some made some mistakes: For example, they didn't put enough faith in the youth, or didn't make any room for them. I believe that the Republican Party is attempting to deal with this, ensuring that young people under 35 are included on the lists of candidates for the elections. I am not thinking of myself personally, but I believe this is a long term decision, not a mere desire to win votes. The

fact that Brasov, Timisoara, and Bucharest were the initial headquarters of this party shows that that it recognized the merit of those cities and that it wants to continue to struggle for democratization.

I have recently been involved in several actions and contacts concerning human rights; one of the methods of the old regime was to minimize the importance of the individual in the name of so-called common interests. One of the mottoes of the Republican Party is 'Not People for a Party, but a Party for People.' This idea in support of individualization stands at the basis of all the party's decisions in defense of human rights. This is also one of the directions in which I know that much can be done and must be done. On the other hand, I was also attracted by the name of the party which, being simpler, may signal a path toward simplicity and efficiency of action.

It is not absolutely necessary that the party win the elections, the important thing is that there should exist several parties, several strong parties, and I shall be content if the Republican Party is one of them. I have faith in many of the founders of this party, but faith must be reconfirmed. I hope that together we will win the trust of the electorate and that we can keep and continually justify it.

* 18 Feb Events Reinforce Call for Dialogue

90EB0302B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Alexandru George article: "The Need for Dialogue"]

[Text] The deplorable events that occurred in Victory Square in the afternoon of 18 February—when a rather small number of individuals, very different from the large masses of other peaceful demonstrators, entered the government headquarters—raise some very serious questions to which we would be very happy to find answers. We hope that the insignificant voice of the author of this article may not sound far removed from the choir of calculated demands or from the sincere spontaneity of the demanders, but only as one seeking the truth about their demonstrations. A public demonstration of several hours was ignored precisely by those to whom it was addressed. Why? Because some unpleasant things were said during the dialogue? That, however, is the risk that any politician runs. Later, the "meeting" did take place, but not with those with justified demands, but with individuals who had come in armed with clubs, iron bars, or other implements of close contact. Would it not have been better to listen to (if not necessarily fulfill) the requirements of the former?

But even when an official representative did emerge, as far as we understood, it was Mr. Gelu Voican, who deserves to be congratulated for his courage. He is an interlocutor that we have known for some two decades; His Excellency is a man that wouldn't touch a hair on anyone's head. (We referred to him as His Excellency because he has said that he heartily disliked that term; but a discussion without contrariness from the very beginning is no fun, not to mention that it is not profitable).

Thus, ecce homo. More precisely, this is the man with whom the discussion took place. Rescued from the above deplorable incident (for which we once again want to congratulate him), he stated that those who organized, or plotted the incident, and who manipulated the gangs of aggressors, must be pinpointed. Other prominent officials requested the same: The minister of the interior was literally ordered to shed light, i.e., to discover those "genuinely to blame."

A curious problem, specious, too, we would say. Mr. Deputy Prime Minister Voican is not even a former Marxist, like others; the fact that he sees dark undercurrents in that sad affair may be the effect of his esoteric interests. We don't belong to either orientation, but believe that the matter is much more simple, namely the result of an inability to forge a real dialogue and of blocked channels of communication between the population and the powers that be....

For more than one month we have been in a strange situation: Groups of people—of the most varied origins and elements—gather in various spots in the country to demand precisely what is on the government's program. Can it be that we are dealing merely with an unjustified nervousness? Or impatience? Or is it a more profound dissatisfaction that we later see satisfied by the sources to which it was addressed? The undersigned, who is an apolitical creature par excellance, wants to call attention to this not at all esoteric, but very clear matter, all the more so because it is very generalized.

But our immediate misfortunes come especially from a fact that politicians of all colors cannot ignore: Namely that there are all kinds of malcontent, confused, and agitated people who are available for any adventure, and that they are for the greatest majority, young. With or without a beard, more or less vehement, they are not acting within the established opposition (which was in part coopted in monitoring governmental acts). The spirit of democracy urges us not only to listen to all voices, but also to seek them out. One cannot talk to the wind; one must know to whom one is talking, must seek out interlocutors, and must go toward the opposition, or at least accept it as such. In any event, one cannot have a dialogue by first labeling those with whom one is to come into contact with various degrees of unpleasantness: manipulated, or sold out for whisky, schnaps, or blue jeans.

Ceausescu, too, used to talk about plots, people sold out, and agents, and the most interesting fact is that he actually believed that those sorts led him before the firing squad. His mistake was in his inability to grasp who the true adversaries were and of what radical actions they were capable.

We want to call this to Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican's attention (without calling him to task), because we believe that in general our interlocutors are honest men, even if "they don't quite know what they want." We do not suspect them of ulterior motives, esoteric reasons, hidden thoughts, or mechanisms pulled by someone even more mysterious. Not only because that would mock them, but because this mockery would reflect on ourselves. Dialogue is not only a condition of genuine political practice, it is also a personal moral position.

* Cornea on Mazilu, Economic Reforms

27000002E Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Doina Cornea by Virgil Lazar; place and date not given: "Democracy Should Be Brought to its Logical Consequences"]

[Text] [ROMANIA LIBERA] Esteemed Professor Doina Cornea, I will not introduce you to our readers since you are very well known in the country and abroad because of your struggle for almost a decade against the dictatorship and because of the courage with which you resisted the terror and oppression to which you were subjected during this period of sad memory. What do you want to say to us first of all?

[Cornea] I want to ask you to transmit through the daily paper ROMANIA LIBERA—whose newsmen and typesetters, fighters against the dictatorship, I publicly supported by means of Radio Free Europe immediately after I learned of their struggle and courage—I want you to transmit my warmest thanks to all those in the country and abroad who wished me a Happy New Year. Since I was very busy at that time I would like, in my turn, to wish them a good year, one of peace and quiet.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] How would you characterize the first weeks since the revolution?

[Cornea] The liberation movement of the youth—as I would like to define the December 1989 Revolution—united, in an unexpected manner, all the forces for good in the country, regardless of age, sex, professional and social condition, and nationality. It demonstrated an extraordinary solidarity and cohesion, which was manifested in the supreme sacrifice of opposing the dictator and the Communist tyranny. Immediately after the situation calmed down, however, I noted with regret, with much regret, that this bond was beginning to weaken. Perhaps it is due to the fact that the former forces of oppression are trying to infiltrate themselves everywhere in the life of society. I am thinking, in particular, about the corrupt members of the nomenclatura of the Securitate and the former Communist Party who are now trying to occupy decisionmaking positions for the obvious purpose of destabilizing the fragile democratic achievements and the freedom won with so many sacrifices.

On the other hand, we must not forget that Romanian society was very damaged and very "sick" morally and spiritually. In my opinion, about 50 percent of the people lost their moral strength during the dark years of dictatorship and corruption and, therefore, some citizens continue to be involved in dubious business and to carry on their existence by dishonest methods. I am talking about mental attitudes engrained by so many years of intellectual darkness, attitudes which require a long period of time before they are changed into something good.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] You spoke about the infiltration of some "formers" [forces of oppression]. Has such a phenomenon also occurred in Cluj?

[Cornea] Yes, unfortunately, also in Cluj. Both in the National Salvation Front County Council and the office of the mayor. For example, the mayor of Cluj-Napoca had to be replaced only two days after he was appointed. During the first moments in which new local state organs were established, undesirable elements, former common-law prisoners or former Securitate officers infiltrated into the County Council of the Front. The hard thing is to get rid of them. But with a little care, with a little knowledge of people, such elements can be removed. In this respect, the Front councils—including the National Council—were not sufficiently prompt especially in bringing Securitate chiefs before the organs of justice so that they could be investigated in accordance with current laws. This negative tendency could have been prevented if the "chiefs" had been isolated and if the efforts of a certain category of former privileged individuals—who struggled to seize power once again or who tried to destabilize for the moment a situation which was still precarious—were annihilated at the very beginning. Therefore, I think it would be good for the population to understand the danger of destabilization and to try to restore the solidarity of good people. At the same time, there is a need for order and stability and there is a need for production to continue at any price.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Are you referring to the Bucharest demonstration on 12 January?

[Cornea] This is true, but that is not all. I saw the Bucharest demonstration on television. I was horrified at what happened there. I believe that a demonstration should be thought out and prepared ahead of time and that people should know what they want and what they are demanding. In Bucharest, contradictory slogans were shouted: "We want Mazilu, Down With Iliescu"; "We Want Iliescu, Down With Mazilu"; or "Death for Death," advocating punishment for the guilty. I am sure that the majority of those assembled in Victory Square did not know anything about the activity and ideas of Mazilu or even of Iliescu. Probably they did not know anything about Mazilu's activity against the dictatorship, which he carried on for many years, endangering his life. What better guarantee of honesty and moral and intellectual integrity can exist for a man than the report of Mazilu on the flagrant violation of human rights in Romania, a report which he was able to have transmitted to the United Nations? I have the same opinion about the demonstration in Cluj on the night of 12 January, an opinion which I stated publicly to people at that time. I believe, I repeat, that these demonstrations are nothing but diversionary maneuvers staged by the dark forces of the former Securitate and Communist Party; through them, they struggle for power.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] I read an "Appeal" circulated recently in Turda Municipality stating, among other things, that you are calling workers to demonstrations. What is the true story?
[Cornea] I read it and I want to say that I have not called anyone, and therefore, not the people in Turda, to go out on the streets again and to demonstrate under the pretext—as the announcement stresses—of defending democracy and freedom. If it is not a frame-up then it might be an erroneous interpretation of the interview given to a press agency in which I made a hypothetical statement, seeing the public demonstration as a way to defend the revolution if I should feel that freedom was beginning to be restricted.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] As you know, it was decided to have a national referendum on the death penalty and the existence of the Communist Party, what is your opinion?
[Cornea] Personally, I am categorically opposed to the reinstatement of the death penalty. In my opinion, this would be an immoral law because I believe that life is a gift which does not belong to us. No one has the right to take a life and even less right to take another's life. Man should not respond with cruelty and hatred to evil and hatred. Otherwise the vicious circle will continue. This legislation is no solution. Man's strength should lie in goodness and tolerance, in humane legislation. As for the Communist Party, on the basis of the principles of democracy, I do not think that it is good to take away this right to exist, on the condition that it groups together 251 real Communists and not opportunists. I believe that all parties have a right to existence, except for those parties which are based on principles of violence, destruction, and dehumanization. Democracy should be brought to its logical consequences.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] What are the urgent needs in our society?
[Cornea] I will answer you by stressing that what I say are the opinions of a housewife. After such an upheaval which has led to the collapse of all our organizations, we do not have permission to rebuild everything on old economic patterns. I believe that this would represent a danger for the superstructure and for the democratic values we have achieved. This is why I believe that reforms should be introduced to decentralize the infrastructure, along with the superstructure, and to make industry and agriculture profitable on the basis of private ownership. It is true that such a restructuring cannot take place overnight. However, it should be begun experimentally, in certain zones and sectors. But where it is begun, it should be radical, not with half measures. It should begin on a geographic basis, in certain enterprises and in agriculture, so as to have and create models of the new type of ownership. General conclusions can be drawn from this experiment. I believe that instead of closing unprofitable enterprises it would be a good idea to offer them for a determined length of time, five to 10 years, to foreign firms which would invest capital in them and modernize them, benefiting from part of the profit. The workers would be given a wage which would be the average of wages in Romania and in the respective [investor] country. A revitalized enterprise which would have modern technology after a period of five to 10 years would be a great asset for the country. For agriculture, I propose that we begin by sending young farm workers abroad where they will see and learn how a farm is organized, how work is done, and how machines are used. The state should be ready not only to help them with mechanization projects, but even to rent them machines or to sell them at desirable prices, assisting them with credits. Agriculture can become a branch which can absorb a part of the work force threatened with unemployment if people are offered clear advantages as described.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Some parties have presented the idea of the monarchy. What do you think about this?

[Cornea] I think highly of the king because of all he did on 23 August 1944 and because of the confidence which he had in the people. However this question should be put before all the people. One voice does not count. This is my opinion.

["Addition" by ROMANIA LIBERA]: We are demonstrating, we believe, our good faith in respecting the opinions of Doina Cornea about the sufferings endured by Dumitru Mazilu after the compilation of the report on human rights which was transmitted to the United Nations. Moreover, not for a moment did we think about casting aspersions on this side of Mazilu's personality. So as to dispel confusion, let us repeat that our reasons for concern which helped us to understand the pressure from readers—who urged us not to ignore this case—are two-fold: 1) Mazilu's connections with the former Securitate, which makes us wonder on what moral basis the gentleman was able to shout: "Death to the Securitate" at the demonstration last Friday; 2) the activity carried out by the gentleman in the country and abroad as an apologist for the "brilliance" of Ceausescu.

We, ourselves, asked, from the very beginning, whether Mazilu had compensated for this by his later attitude but we have not found any answers to two questions. The first: To discuss compensation, is it not necessary that the truth, the real truth, be acknowledged? And the second: Is what is accepted in this case accepted in all cases?

The discussion of these things is very important, we believe, in a period in which it is absolutely vital to clarify the meaning of a much-bandied idea—which has become a criterion: "a compromised individual." For this reason, we await with interest the lawsuit with which we have been threatened, without yet receiving any notification. We believe that such a lawsuit could be a test of fire for our justice system. In this case it is not a matter of a person, whose complexity we can understand, but of PRINCIPLES.

* Uniate Catholics Advised To Stay Orthodox

27000002D Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 27 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by Fr. Dumitru Staniloaie addressed to all children, pupils and students and to all young people of Romania: "Words of Inspiration and Christian Faith"; first two paragraphs are TINERETUL LIBER introduction]

[Excerpts] Professor Dr. Dumitru Staniloaie is one of the outstanding figures of the Romanian community in the area of faith and spiritual life. Class after class of graduates of the institutes of theology in Sibiu and Bucharest have been enlightened by his teachings and moral example. Also, tens of thousands of readers in Romania and abroad have been enlightened by his books. The name of this scholar and philosopher is known, recognized and esteemed throughout the Orthodox Christian, Catholic, and Protestant world. His work is studied in Western universities. We are obliged to inform you, dear readers, that Professor Dumitru Staniloaie is one of the more than 500 Orthodox priests who suffered the torments of Jilava and Aiud prisons for five years.

Thanks to the revolution, the moment has finally arrived when we can freely address Fr. Dumitru Staniloaie, asking him to share his thought with us about man and the mission of the human being in the forthcoming period, a time of freedom and dignity.

Dear children, pupils and students, all young people of Romania, I am addressing to you words of inspiration and faith with candid thoughts about the Christian values of the Romanian Orthodox Church, values hidden from you up until now, values which have been at the foundation of the spiritual life of our people from the beginning of its formation. [passage omitted]

During the dictatorship, our church was a martyr church. Its altars were violated and destroyed, its servants and their children, and the faithful, were imprisoned and the sound of bells was prohibited, which never happened before, not even during the period of Ottoman domination. Hatred was sown among men and love of neighbor was abolished. Love was forcibly imposed—not love of the truth or love of God but love of a man who spoke only lies and hatred for the Romanian people and for God. This new Herod did not disappear and did not exit from history until he had killed thousands of innocents—the majority children and young people.

This is the time when our Orthodox Church has the role of healer. The Romanian Orthodox Church is the church of love. The Romanian Orthodox Church is a servant church. As a church of service, the Romanian Orthodox Church will make its contribution to the rebirth of social and historical man, on the sacred foundations of love, dignity, and freedom. United in faith we will strengthen the unity of our people.

The Romanian Orthodox Church was, is, and will be an altar of national awareness, of the will of the Romanians to be free and masters of their home, with full respect for their neighbors' homes and for their traditions. The existence of our Orthodox Church is intermingled with the very existence of the Romanian people. A tragic eclipse, which lasted 45 years, tried to break the Romanian people away from their church and the church from its faithful, even breaking the unity among us Romanians. The eclipse was eliminated by the revolution of the Romanians and those two sacred forces—the Romanian people and their true church—were once again before the same altars, before the ones which had been destroyed, before the ones which will be reborn. We are all being reborn. Let us prepare now for the resurrection.

A word to our Greek-Catholic [Uniate] brethren forced by the former Communist regime to become Orthodox once again after the Hapsburgs had forced them, through severe persecution, to break away from the ancestral church of all our people; I think that it would be well not to break away from us again, especially now, when discussions are going on between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church in regard to their unification. This rupture would not only weaken the unity of our people but would also adversely affect prospects for achieving a great Christian unity, and would also be detrimental to the Catholic Church which wants this reunion with the Orthodox Church.

Together, all children of this nation must bear on our shoulders the saving cross of the rebirth of the country, which will also be a spiritual rebirth: Rebirth in the Lord. May God help us!

* Situation in Brasov During, After Revolution

90EB0291C Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Feb 90 p 5

[Mirela Roznoveanu article: "Let Us Not Forget Brasov!"]

[Text] At the democratic elections held on 23 January 1990 with the participation of representatives of most Brasov enterprises, a new County Provisional National Unity Council [CPNUC] was elected to replace the old council that had been undemocratically elected from members of the former nomenklatura, under General Florea. The people of Brasov were thus expressing their hope that the mysteries shrouding the revolution in Brasov would begin to unravel. The persistance of such mysteries, which have still not been cleared up, was due to historical, so to speak, factors: the clearly anticommunist tradition of the town, dating back to 15 November 1987; the repressive leadership installed here by the ceausescu [as published] dictatorship after 15 November; the fact that various key positions are still held by persons who don't have the people's confidence because they were left over from 15 November—this is mostly the case at the Military Court, the Civilian Prosecutor's Office, and the leadership of the Brasov garrison; and the promotion of General Zagoneanu, the former security commander of Brasov county, who was kept under arrest by the revolutionary forces during the revolution.

What are these mysteries about? One is about terrorists. Although many eye witnesses saw them and fought against them, caught some, and turned them over to the Army for having opened fire in Brasov, and although everyone knows about their existence and about the fact that they kept shooting from 25 locations in the county, the Military Prosecutor's Office is at present not holding any terrorist under arrest and only 35 people are under suspicion. Many eye witnesses claim that the terrorists caught during the revolution were either eliminated or freed after superficial questioning at the former county council. Some of the people who signed testimonies along this line say they are being pressured into changing their statements. No one knows where the terrorists are who had been turned over to the Army and why statements had not been taken from the witnesses who caught them. Although the residents of Brasov believe that the members of the former nomenklatura who were arrested—Preoteasa, Daogaru, Maria Cebuc, etc.—were co-responsible for the genocide, having drafted a plan of reprisals against possible demonstrations as early as 19-20 December 1989 as well as having participated in the teleconference of 17 December, they were turned over to the Civilian Prosecutor's Office only on charges of abuses... As for the five terrorists declared dead by Gen. Florea, commander of the Brasov garrison, it was said that only three of them (a worker from plant No. 2, a mailman, and a movie house employee—i.e., all civilians) carried out terrorist actions, while the two securitate [as published] officers had been innocent victims of personal account settling. Because of this situation, people who have information on terrorist activities are afraid to come forth with revelations. Moreover, some of those who wanted to disclose things to the Military Prosecutor's Office in town—such as Major Tocan—were either not heard, or are even being investigated on totally marginal issues. Many are saying that documents are being destroyed. Citizens are also asking why statements concerning the terrorists were not taken from Gen. Zagoneanu, former chief of the Interior Ministry County Inspectorate, and from Gen. Florea—both friends of members of the former nomenklatura—who hold revealing data along this line. Since the terrorists have disappeared as if swallowed by the earth, the people of Brasov were stunned to hear that "we fired on ourselves." If so, then who fired from the back, killing people inside the council building during the fighting? In other words, whom did the people of Brasov fight in the days of the revolution? Who was shooting at the building of the former county council, who was shooting from Timpa, who attacked the refinery, the fuel storage at Cristian, the first aid station and the blood bank, who was shooting from MODAROM, from the Capitol, the Post Office, the Parc Hotel, the attic of Daogaru's house, and the corner of Bucurestiul Ave. and Toamnei St.? Some of the questions are paradoxical. Why were weapons handed out first to civilians, and then to some Army units? Eye witnesses deny that civilians stole weapons from the former securitate building and that they had been wearing securitate uniforms! Why should they had done so when no one was yet shooting in Brasov? The civilians who took up weapons did so out of despair, under enemy fire, as was the case with those who fought in the building of the present council.

Another mystery is the identity of the dead. Out of 64 names published, the claim is that it is still not known who were heroes and who were terrorists. The files now in the CPNUC building, listing those killed or wounded in the revolution (88 files so far, 45 of them on dead, although the GAZETA DE TRANSILVANIA recorded 64 dead), contain unclear data. Medical-legal certificates do not describe wounds in detail; some of them don't even mention the cause of death, only at the family's "request." They are also unclear about the weapons used.

Another problem is the freedom of the local press. As is known, the GAZETA DE TRANSILVANIA on 12 January received a non-confidence vote from the citizens of Brasov. It is said that Gen. Florea was targetting the newspaper's material (which he wanted to do with the magazine ASTRA, too) and that GAZETA DE TRANSILVANIA still doesn't want to release the truth that the residents are expecting, and that it is not publishing certain articles likely to be unpleasant (to whom?). The three video tapes taken during the revolution in Brasov (one showed a terrorist being apprehended), which were sent to Bucharest consecutively, were lost. How did that happen?

These questions that offer for public opinion came up from our talks with official CPNUC representatives of Brasov. The council's Executive Bureau was convened in special session on 14 February to piece together a clear picture of the issues still unsolved; the session was also attended by Mr. Vasile Gogea, chief editor of ASTRA, and the representative of the local television station. During the meeting, Maj. Tocan insisted on making a statement on the revolutionary events in Brasov. Statements were also made by Messrs. Paul Habat, deputy chairman of the council; Emil Stoica, chairman of the county council; Florin Crizbasan, Brasov County prefect; Emil Ivascu, Costica Dinu, George Scafariu, and Dan Dicianu, members of the council who fought in the first days of the revolution. The consensus was to bring neutral prosecutors to town to begin a real investigation (this request came from the governmental level, but has still not been fulfilled. On 17 January, a delegation made up of Messrs. Stoica, Scafariu, and Ivascu informed Minister General Nicolae Militaru that there were certain "anomalous situations in Brasov, and no firm measures had been taken"); Mr. Emil Stoica specified that the council wanted a "clean filter to protect honesty and democracy, and to eliminate the circulation of rumors and information harmful to the county and the city."

At the end of the special session, Colonel Ioan Centiu, military prosecutor of Brasov, was kind enought to answer some questions by the council and the journalists present. He said that no terrorists arrested by the Army or investigated by the police ever reached the Military Prosecutor's Office of Brasov; the citzens' lack of trust in the Military Prosecutor was unfounded; he agreed that there had been terrorists in Brasov who fired at the Army and at civilians, but said the Military Prosecutor's Office did not know who they were; that the members of the former nomenklatura arrested had nothing to do with terrorism; the Military Prosecutor's Office was not requested to take statements from Gen. Zagoneanu when he was arrested and that that could have been done only by military prosecutors of the same rank; that the Tocan file had only now been received from Bucharest; and that the local military prosecution couldn't respond to the latter's appeals because of other "priorities." Mr. Ioan Centiu also said he didn't know anything about the Pana case (arrested at Bran) and could not believe that Gen. Florea personally threatened some inconvenient witnesses, who were present. We wanted to know when the trials of those guilty of terrorist acts in Brasov would begin. The reply was: There will be no trial as long as there is no prisoner accused of that [crime]. The question, however, remains: Who helped the arrested terrorists escape? Were the arrested members of the former nomenklatura guilty of terrorist acts? Who were the heroes and who were the terrorists? We believe that the apprehensions of the citizens of Brasov can be dispelled only by an honest investigation carried out by neutral prosecutors brought in from other parts of the country who should question all the persons responsible for the mysteries enveloping the revolution in Brasov.

Albanian Women Protest in Kosovo

AU0803213290

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 8 March devotes about 30 minutes of an extended 50-minute cast to news items from Kosovo.

The leading item is a four-minute, almost totally unmonitorable, report of a meeting by workers of the Ramiz Sadiku Construction Combine in Pristina, which was addressed by Rahman Morina, president of the League of Communists (LC) of Kosovo Presidium. The workers had insisted on this meeting to voice their grievances following a bankruptcy procedure against the enterprise and the consequent mass unemployment.

This is followed by a four-minute report of a "spontaneous" meeting by Albanian women at the Boro and Ramiz Center in Pristina. The announcer begins by saying that Pristina Socialist Alliance President Arif Osmani and Nada Tokovic, president of the Conference for Social Activity of Women, were supposed to address the meeting, but that the women gathered there, numbering about 1,000, refused a dialogue with them. The announcer then says: "Luljeta Beciri, president of the Kosovo Women's Association of the Democratic League of Kosovo, was then called to take over the meeting." This is followed by an approximately two-minute recording of her speech, which is partly indistinct due to poor acoustics. She is heard proposing that a working group be formed to formulate the articulated demands of the meeting and appealing to the women to disperse after that was done. She then says that a wise policy in Kosovo would have prevented the situation from deteriorating to the point that it has done, adding that such a policy would not have permitted the use of epithets, such as have been used against an entire people, "denying their national identity and their history." Such a policy, she goes on to say, would not have tolerated "the murders, injuries, persecution, isolation, differentiation, and maltreatment that have become a daily feature of our life." The tragic situation in Kosovo, she adds, "cannot be remedied through the present policies applied in Kosovo, which are based on violence and state terror." Nor can it be remedied through the unsuccessful efforts to justify this violence by all kinds of unjust accusations.

The announcer concludes by saying that, after a number of discussions, the Pristina women dispersed quietly. This is followed by a report of another meeting held by Albanian women in Pristina, this time at the Faculty of Medicine. The announcer says that the meeting was held "to protest about what has been happening recently in Kosovo." The women called on Serbian and Montenegrin women and mothers "to raise their voice against the injustices and the policy currently applied in Kosovo." Another report mentions a meeting by women of Albanian, Moslem, and Turkish nationality in Pristina, but the name of the collective concerned is indistinct. A meeting of 45 Albanian women at the Kosovo Electricity Generating Board expressed regret at the fact that, after the events in Kosovo, they could not participate in the festivities on this International Women's Day. They also protest the various epithets applied to Albanian women in various speeches.

The next report says that a group of 400 women gathered quietly in the center of Podujevo and then marched to the Communal Assembly Hall, where they held a "protest" meeting. The women expressed their concern about the situation in the commune and their grief for the victims of the violence in this commune. They also stated that "the insinuations that the Albanian nationality in Kosovo is acting against Tito's Yugoslavia are untrue," adding: "We want no more and no fewer rights and freedoms than other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia." The meeting also demanded an immediate end to the state of emergency in Kosovo and that an official communique be issued on the victims in Podujevo and other Kosovo communes. The women expressed support for the demands presented by the Pristina University students and insisted that 28 March should not be proclaimed a holiday in Serbia.

A similar meeting by Albanian women is reported to have been held in the commune of Suva Reka. These reports about activities connected with Women's Day, are followed by a number of reports concerning the general situation in various communes. These reports indicate that the situation is generally returning to normal. Most factories appear to be working normally and most schools are also reported to be functioning normally, with some few exceptions, mostly due to the refusal of Serb and Montenegrin pupils to go to their schools in the same shift as Albanian pupils. There are also a number of reports about citizens meetings in various communes, in which the usual grievances are being voiced about maltreatment by members of the militia. Another usual feature of the situation in various communes appears to be that of continuing mass resignations from the LC basic organizations, the Socialist Alliance of Working People organizations, trade unions, and youth organizations. Most of the reports say that the members concerned have gone over to the Kosovo Democratic Alliance.

Workers, Students Protest

LD0803170190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0922 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—Several hundred workers of the recently defunct Ramiz Sadiku enterprise have spent the night in the Boro i Ramiz Youth Club in Pristina as a part of their efforts to have their demands for jobs met. Someone from the Kosovo top leadership is expected to talk to them today.

This morning, Pristina secondary school pupils who are taught in Serbo-Croat refused again to attend classes in protest over the authorities' failure to meet their demands to have lessons in the mornings only, for security reasons. Competent officials from either the province or the republic are expected to address them.

Kosovo Executive Council on Emigration

LD0903000290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—The Executive Council of Kosovo today approved a report on the realization of tasks in the Yugoslav program of measures and activities to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, ensure the quicker return of those who have left, and of all those who wish to live and work in the province. The report refers to the last quarter of last year.

The report states that the provincial organs of administration and organization, as well as the Kosovo Executive Council, while working on all these tasks, achieved a high degree of efficiency in the functions of the economic system's institutions .

In the October-December period last year, the responsibility of legislative organs was increased by the direct supervision of authorized organs and working visits by (?higher bodies). It is also necessary to ensure cadre help by sending 30 judges to work in Kosovo courts so that the role of these organs is realized more successfully, it is stressed in the statement.

Albanian Workers Fired After Warnings

LD0803164590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1031 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Nis, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—The employment commission of the Jastrebac pump plant, which is a part of the Nis Machine Industries, has announced a disciplinary measure terminating the employment of 142 workers of Albanian nationality from its pump piston plant om Decani in Kosovo.

The commission decided to take this step after the group refused to heed numerous Nis Machine Industries warnings that compulsory work orders had to be strictly observed and high wages earned.

An earlier dismissal of eight workers from the same plant for the same reason did not seem to have any effect on idleness and indiscipline at the plant. [passage omitted]

Protest Against Slovenes in Army in Kosovo

AU0903082190 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Mar 90 p 1

[Veso Stojanov report: "Protect the Draftees"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Mar—About 1,000 people gathered at Preseren Square in Ljubljana this afternoon at a protest rally organized by ZSMS [initials of the former Slovene Socialist Youth Federation]-Liberal Party and entitled: "Against the Slovene Draftees Going to Kosovo." The representatives of the ZSMS-Liberal Party, of the Slovene Peasant Alliance, and of the Socialist Alliance presented their requests to the Slovene state organs in connection with the draftees from Slovenia going soon to serve in the Army.

Janez Sodrznik, Presidium member of the ZSMS-Liberal Party, was the first to address the gathering, and among other things he said that the Yugoslav People's Army had been putting itself in a position that, objectively speaking, it should not occupy. As soon as possible, it should be relieved of some police functions that it still possesses and that it has been abnormally and incomprehensibly increasing lately. In particular, it should be relieved of the function of political police supervising the entire state.

Having presented the ZSMS-Liberal Party, Janez Sodrznik asked the draftees not to boycott the Army draft because they thus do not achieve anything, but can only harm themselves and their nearest and dearest.

Tone Anderlic requested the Slovene Assembly to get the SFRY Presidency and the federal assembly to immediately abolish the unconstitutional situation that has arisen. In his opinion, the federal Presidency has no constitutional powers to employ the Armed Forces in peacetime, not even in a so-called state of emergency. Slovene Peasants Alliance Secretary Marija Markes said that the rally should not be just a protest against the senseless killings in Kosovo, but also an appeal that education for peace should finally be placed above the training for arms.

Vojko Vovk of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia presented to the gathering the demands by Slovene socialists to be conveyed to the Slovene Assembly: demands that Slovene draftees should not serve in the Army in the state of Serbia or in Kosovo, and that the SFRY Presidency should arrange for the Slovene draftees to serve the Army in Slovenia or in the Fifth Army Region.

Army Denies Officer's Death due to Kosovo Unrest

AU0803170190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Death in Traffic Accident"]

[Text] Belgrade—Army Lieutenant Zikica Sretenovic died from injuries received in a traffic accident—this is stressed in a statement to TANJUG by the authorized organs of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. The statement denies a report in DELO according to which Sretenovic was allegedly killed in a clash with separatists in Kosovo.

The following is the text of the statement:

"Ljubljana DELO recently published a report that the rumor in Belgrade is that Army Lt. Zikica Sretenovic died from injuries allegedly received during a clash with separatists in Kosovo.

"Lt. Sretenovic died on 12 February from injuries received in a traffic accident that occurred on 3 February on the road between Djakovica and Prizren during the planned exercises of his armored vehicle unit.

"According to the investigation by military authorities, the accident took place when his tank, due to driver error, came off the road and turned over. This resulted in Sretenovic suffering serious injuries. Sretenovic was immediately taken to Skopje where he was operated upon. After nine days in a coma, he died. Therefore, the claims that Sretenovic, or any other member of the Yugoslav People's Army, lost his life in clashes with Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo are completely unfounded. They are, as we are told, pure speculations."

Presidency Advisers Leave Kosovo After Talks

AU0603174990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 90 p 3

[D.B. report: "Talks With Alternative Groups Too"]

[Text] Pristina—Nikola Prokselj and Marjan Kramer, advisers to the president of the SFRY Presidency, left Kosovo yesterday. While visiting Kosovo, they had talks with the leading people in the province and, as has been unofficially learned, with representatives of the Kosovo alternative groups too.

This has been the first attempt to establish the desired dialogue in Kosovo, but not through "direct" but "indirect" meetings between the interested parties.

Press Protests Warnings of 'Bloody Spring'

AU0603102290 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 26 Feb 90 p 2

[B. Haliti commentary: "Ill Omens"]

[Text] Who could ever have thought that Kosovo, its people, and its educational, cultural, economic, and political institutions could ever have borne on their shoulders all those words and expressions for which you have to hunt in dictionaries of foreign and rare words, and which are wittingly or unwittingly (but more the former) spread through Kosovo, but fortunately through only a part of Yugoslavia and by part of the country's press. Besides well-worn expressions such as "counterrevolutionary staff," "cradle of separatists," and the like, we have recently come to the most ridiculous, such as "Albanian cannibals," "ape people," and "Albanian blackshirts." Nobody has seen fit to criticize these "gems," even in the forums where they have been uttered. What is worse, one gains the impression that these expressions are used in assemblies out of an apparent desire on the part of certain individuals and groups to introduce them into our legitimate, everyday political vocabulary.

Time will show who has thrust such expressions on Kosovo and its people, and why. However, certain individuals and groups have been Cassandras about Kosovo. When such insults are used, there is a need to clearly see why they are employed and to distinguish the people clearly from them.

Some time ago, the Urosevac Communal Assembly president, speaking at a meeting of the Serbian Assembly, spoke at length about a "bloody spring." It is quite irrelevant from whom the president heard this ominous expression. It seems that it was more important to predict a "bloody spring" and spread ill omens for Kosovo and its people of all nationalities.

Another incident, in which the phrase "bloody Tuesday" was broadcast on the airwaves, was a further attempt to spread gloom and doom.

BORBA correspondent Milos Antic, in his paper three or four days ago, wrote that there is a lot of talk in Kosovo about "every Tuesday from now on being bloody, until the people's demands are met." The aim is once again clear—to burden Kosovo with many more days of expectancy and anxiety.

One wonders at whose command this "bloody spring" and these "bloody Tuesdays" were concocted, and what relationship those who utter such ominous phrases have with those in command. Somebody, it seems, wants the situation to remain disturbed. We know that Albanian and other nationalists want this, and we must therefore use every means to struggle against them. Kosovo and its people, especially the Albanians, through wisdom, a return to peace and public order, by continuing classes and work, and by refraining from street protests, will convince all the Cassandras that there will be no "bloody spring" or "bloody Tuesdays" in Kosovo, but that conditions will be created to start an open dialogue with the people, among all the peoples and nationalities living here. We have no option but dialogue and a common life. Demands must be raised through the legal institutions of the system of Yugoslavia, and the people of Kosovo, especially the Albanians, must in peace and order create scope for dialogue and the free development of democratic processes in Kosovo, just as in the overwhelmingly larger part of our country.

Rilindja Workers Leave LCY Membership

LD3001232790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1915 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—The journalists and other workers on the daily paper in the Albanian language, RILINDJA, have left the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] as a sign of protest over the situation in Kosovo and because the accountability of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC], which they say is implementing an anti-Albanian and antipeople policy. In their public statement they say that as of yesterday the basic organization of Communists in this paper no longer exists.

The bloodshed in Kosovo is, they believe, the consequence of the anti-Albanian policy, which has for many years seen Kosvo as an exclusively Serbian issue, and not as an issue for the entire population. The former members of the RILINDJA basic LC organization returned their party membership cards "because of the full accountability of the Kosovo LC," which, as they say, does not represent the human and national interests of the Kosovo citizens.

Pristina Democratic Initiative Issues Statement

AU2401141090 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 20 Jan 90 p 18

[Unattributed report: "Statement of Views and Demands"]

[Text] The Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [AYDI] of Pristina has issued a statement to the nationwide public that has also been passed to the media. Stressing among other things that "we know that we physically live in Kosovo, but we do not wish to be intellectually confined to Kosovo," the declaration adds: "The truth about Kosovo cannot be reached through one-sided information adapted to any particular person's needs, and in no way through a blockade or censorship of information." Advancing the view that "the Kosovo crisis cannot be solved with repression of any kind, with noninstitutional violence, and least of all by any monopoly of the truth, including a national or even nationalist monopoly," the signatories to the statement (the Pristina AYDI Executive Council: Chairman Veton Surroi, and M. Karan, S. Maliqi, V. Redzepagic, D. Djuric, and M. Kullashi) consider:

—"That the citizen is the indisputable basis of political organization and that there must be a necessary guarantee of the exercise of civil rights through freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of political association, and free elections.

—"That no political group, including the League of Communists, may have the right to a monopoly guaranteed by the Constitution, and that in accordance with this principle no political group, having usurped power, may persecute those who think differently, either by means of a repressive apparatus, or by restricting their rights to work, education, etc.

—"That all citizens' political demands are legitimate if they do not involve violence or encourage violence and hatred. We refuse to accept the logic of the totalitarian state, which defends its ideology with a repressive apparatus; nor do we accept the logic of those citizens who, in voicing their political demands, use violence or call for violence. The aim of democracy is, in essence, to create an opportunity for a confrontation of views, not a physical confrontation of people.

—"That citizens' freedom implies the freedom to express their full national identity and that this inalienable right of citizens is violated whenever the nation state is bolstered by an exclusive ideology.

—"That the conditions of a market economy guarantee the rights of the employed to influence their work through the free formation of independent trade unions and through participation in decision-making."

The statement concludes by demanding:

—"The immediate registration of all political associations and other groups that do not preach violence or any form of hatred,

—"The commencement of work to change those parts of the Constitution and the law that hamper the democratic running of society.

—"The abandonment of all political trials and the persecution of people over views they have expressed that do not encourage violence or hatred."

—"The release of all those sentenced for the expression of views that do not encourage violence or hatred.

—"Free, emergency elections for assemblies that, by secret and direct ballot and with the participation of all political organizations, will give elected representatives the necessary political, legal, and constitutional legitimacy to enable them to take part in parliamentary life, followed by further elections in order to enable Yugoslavia to emerge from its general crisis in a democratic way.

Kosovo Alternative Calls for Public Discussions

AU0603102790 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 28 Feb 90 p 13

[R.Z. report: "Abandoning Demonstrations and Street Protests"]

[Text] At yesterday's news conference, the coordination body of the Declaration Against Violence, the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, The Steering Council for the formation of the Peasant Party, the Youth Parliament, and the Association of Kosovo Philosophers and Sociologists spoke about the current political situation in Kosovo and ways of solving it. The communique issued on this occasion states; "The way in which attempts have been made to solve the problem of Kosovo, by totally ignoring the Albanian majority and imposing the will of the minority, led Kosovo in January and February 1990 down a blind alley and in fact into a state of war, in which the state kept matters in its own hands only by means of state terrorism." It also states: "The Albanians were forced to express their political will in demonstrations because the state blocked all institutional channels for the expression of this will."

The communique ends with eight proposals, some of which are addressed to the people, and some to the legal state organs. The first is that citizens of Kosovo should refrain from demonstrations and all other forms of street protest, that strikes and school boycotts should end, that legal political activities in local communities should be carried out on nonworking days, that public halls should be open to everybody for gatherings on Saturdays and

Sundays, that meetings should be held whenever necessary to conduct a dialogue between citizens and state representatives or their delegates, that proceedings should be started to dismiss delegates who do not respond to the calls of the citizenry, and that these meetings should not be held under the auspices of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP], but that all local communities, associations, and organizations should leave the ranks of the SAWP.

A communique from the Youth Parliament was also read at the news conference, in which parliament, among other things, referring to the militia's abuse of authority and the maltreatment of citizens, stated: "It is now clear that the punitive expeditions did not exceed their authority and did not abuse their power, but, on the contrary, acted within their competences and carried out their duties on orders from above."

The communique also mentioned the attack on the students' dormitory by an armored militia unit, adding that the purpose of national division or segregation in the dormitories is now clear. Finally, the communique asks state organs and democratic public opinion in Yugoslavia as a whole "why no light has been shed on the darkness of recent days in Kosovo, and why no part of the mosaic of the Kosovo tragedy has been explained." The communique also gave full support to the students' demands that state bodies should by 28 February state who gave the order to attack the students' dormitory.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Out of a desire to believe that the Kosovo alternative movement too, through some of its appeals and instructions, is seeking to contribute to the stabilization of the serious situation in Kosovo, we publish without censorship these statements from its news conference yesterday, as well as reports from the students' gathering and other meetings, thereby fulfilling a demand often made of the media in recent days.

However, we also wish, on this occasion too, to appeal against any abuse of freedom of speech, opinion, and information, because if there is any failure to weigh well every word and every utterance on the problems and demands of Kosovo's current dire reality, which is fraught with so many contradictions, personal and interethnic traumas, and signs of nationalism and hostile activity, "sparks can fly," and the very opposite of the desired effect can result. It is well known that all well-intentioned persons wish for the fastest possible stabilization of the situation in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, a start to democratic dialogue, and true democratization.

No concord or successful commitment with successful results can be achieved with ill-considered statements or phraseology that is politically or personally inflammatory, ill-tempered, or irrational. In serious situations, wisdom and moderation are more necessary than ever; this means that neither euphemism nor exaggeration must be employed, but that everything must be called by its proper name.

Neither exclusiveness nor obfuscation in words or deeds can help in a search for solutions. All those who speak in public must realize this.

Kosovo SAWP Rejects Dialogue With 'Enemy'

AU1602145190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 90 p 3

[Report by M. Antic and S. Haderdjonaj: "The Separatists' Aims Exposed"]

[Excerpts] Pristina—The Albanian nationalists and separatists have once again resorted to aggression against the SFRY's constitutional order. This represents a most serious blow to the country's security and open resistance to the incipient positive changes for stabilizing the situation. It is a matter of a large-scale hostile movement whose aim is the separation of Kosovo from Serbia and Yugoslavia. In his activities, the enemy has shown himself to be anti-Yugoslav and anti-Serb, and has exhibited a high degree of aggression and brutality, using even terrorism, which sufficiently indicates that he spares no methods or means in attaining his long-planned ambitions.

This is only an extract from the stands and assessments adopted yesterday by the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Provincial Conference, which discussed the political and security situation brought about by the recent hostile demonstrations of the Albanian nationalists and separatists. [passage omitted]

The first speaker, Radoslav Zlatanovic, demanded that the state authorities in Kosovo, following the creation of a united Serbia, should embark on carrying out the tasks of a law-governed state. I wish to see our Kosovo free and accessible, and the freedom of the Serbian people cannot depend on the mercy of the Albanians or vice versa.

Zlatanovic went on to demand that the Kosovo Assembly should, at one of its forthcoming sessions, change the name of Kosovo to Kosovo and Metohija, and stressed that the demonstrators took to the streets with slogans for democracy and Tito, "while it is well known that the majority of Albanians still have the slogan 'long live Uncle Hitler' on their lips. You relatives and descendants of Fadilj Hodza cannot sit here with us." He then said that a catastrophic cadre policy has been pursued in Kosovo for years, always to the detriment of the Serbs and Montenegrins. According to him, members of the Albanian nationality still lead the 12 highest cultural institutions, except one who is in a temporary capacity.

Murmurs then broke out in the hall, and hecklers protested they had been insulted. The chair warned Zlatanovic that he had spoken for too long. Because of

Zlatanovic's speech, the Malisevo delegates left the hall, followed by a dozen other delegates of the Albanian nationality, some of whom later returned.

Pec delegate Feti Broqi then took the floor, warning the chair that he was conducting the session badly, and that if the discussion is run in such a way, with speeches like Zlatanovic's, the situation will only become more embittered. Broqi said that Kosovo in recent days has become a breeding ground of disinformation, with some newspapers in the country trying to boost their circulation.

Program for a Common Life

Dragan Malovic said that after Lazar Mojsov's warning [in the SFRY Assembly on 1 March 1989], he could not escape the impression that the separatists are continuing the counterrevolution with armed rebellions, which is its third phase, and added that some parts of the country are suggesting that we should enter into dialogue with the alternative movements, which are leading the separatist campaign for the secession of Kosovo under the guise of democracy. [passage omitted]

Zivorad Igic, president of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference, concluding the discussion that lasted several hours, said among other things:

We now need action, and not just action but concrete activity in the field. We need a broad front of struggle in many directions. It is only human and honest for everyone to ask himself and ask himself again whether he is able to join this front or not, because we cannot and must not allow ourselves to count on those who are not ready to struggle, and least of all on those who hesitate and wait on events, who shrink from causing offense, and who hamper our action. In our work, starting tomorrow, we must be involved in every community. We will not enter into dialogue with the enemy, and we must say clearly to those who hesitate and think twice, that there will never be any compromise with or mercy for those who have this country in their gunsights.

Slovene Government Opposes Border Widening

LD0803194690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—The Slovene executive council yesterday unanimously endorsed a stand by the republic's Internal Affairs Secretariat asking that a proposal to change and amend a law on state border crossings and movements in border areas be withdrawn from the Assembly procedure.

The Executive Council considered as unacceptable the proposal that the control powers of the military border authority be extended to cover a 1,000-meter-wide area of border zone instead of the present 100 meters.

Proceedings of Slovene Assembly Cited

LD0903112290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—The second, less festive part of today's session of the Assembly of the Slovene Republic opened with three issues, the answers to which form the essence of the Slovene attitude to Yugoslavia, especially regarding Kosovo. Assembly Vice President Joze Knez formulated them in the following way: Are Slovenes willing, and to what extent, to be involved in the present way of resolving the Kosovo issue; can they allow some to lead them into, for them, an alien war; and are there paths and ways for disagreements in Yugoslavia to be bridged, and new meeting points regarding a common state to be found?

In assessing that Slovenia is right about Kosovo and developments in the province, which is confirmed by the latest events, Knez claimed that the SFRY Presidency made a mistake in its assessments, but left the possibility open that it was perhaps misleading people. Among major mistakes in the Yugoslav policy on Kosovo and its causes, Knez cited disregard for traditional Albanian customs, the ambitions of Serbian and Kosovo leaders, a complete absence of democraphic policy, inequality among people, and inability of Yugoslav policy to involve capital and labor in the development processes in the province.

We must reckon on these, Knez said, if we want to reach a new agreement on Kosovo. He said that it is necessary to end the use of force. According to him, it is also unacceptable to see only separatism, irredentism, and terrorism in Kosovo, because it is perhaps possible to justify the deployment of the Army and police, as long as the world public believes in it, although it is evident that the agony is only prolonged in this way and that peace, dialogue, and democracy cannot be established.

It is in our direct interest that peace and common life are established in the province, as well as conditions for entering Europe, and therefore, we clearly state that we are only prepared to participate further in resolving the Kosovo problems under new conditions.

These conditions are, as Knez put it, that the parties in dispute start to negotiate without preconditions about how to end the conflict; that all political prisoners are released; and that all political processes are aborted. Furthermore, that with the aid of federal bodies, a negotiating mechanism between all conflicting subjects with equal participation of representatives of the Albanian nationality is set up; that a new concept of togetherness of all people in Kosovo is developed through agreement by all interested parties; and that this concept must be confirmed through consensus of all nations and nationalities living in Kosovo.

Naturally, Knez said, we are not in favor of changing the borders of Yugoslavia and within Yugoslavia, but freedom of political association must be legalized in the province, parties must be founded and organized, and free and secret elections must be held.

The program of resettlement of Albanians and colonization of Kosovo, as a new reason for confrontation, must be abandoned; and competent bodies' decisions to separate students according to national affiliation must be also abandoned, beacuse it is a form of segregation, Knez said.

He then spoke about federation, the deployment of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units in Kosovo, and claimed that the SFRY Presidency did not sufficiently explain its decision in public in order to provide a good basis for assessing justifiability of that measure. The public was also not told about the real aim of the deployment of the YPA, but the fact is that this move is not in the spirit of dialogue, efforts for peace and joint life, and for civil rule elected in free elections with equal participation of all parties, which we have persistently advocated. This is also proposed by Kosovo alternative movements, Knez said.

Delegations about the justification for military engagement do not detract from two major truths: That, through the decision of the SFRY Presidency and through being outvoted, we Slovenes are drawn into a state of war, although it is contrary to our demands; and that the organization and mechanism of YPA activity shows that republican authorities are powerless in such circumstances. [passage omitted]

Knez went on to say: "The constitutional amendments in the Socialist Republic of Serbia have decisively infringed on the provinces' autonomy and brought about new relations in SFRY Presidency decision-making, a warmonger's solutions and the authoritarianism of Gazimestan [refers to Milosevic's words at the 600th anniversary of the battle of Kosovo], threats with arms and rallies, handing out weapons to volunteers who would mount a liberation offensive on Kosovo, attempts to seize power at the adjourned extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia congress, economic blockade, planned deportations and colonization, and separating the young in schools along national lines; all this means above all that Serbia as a state already feels strong enough and has already decided not to operate within the existing constitutional and legal order; that it is set to carry out its interests by all means available; and that it is successfully taking advantage of its numerical superiority or of the opportunism of the federal organs and the YPA and the other republics' preoccupation with their own problems to its advantage."

In this context, the program for the colonization of Kosovo and the demands for deporting several hundred thousands of people from the province is horrifying, and it appears that we are heading back for the times of great dictators, deportations, and genocides, Knez said. He added that he does not want to be accused on the same bench once the world assesses these incredible events of our present day.

In the light of this, Knez said, we propose that preparations be urgently set in motion for a project of confederal agreement, that the project for a confederation be offered as a new basis for living together in Yugoslavia and also as a new constitutional system, and that in the event of this proposal not being accepted, the assembly in its new postelection composition should decide its further moves. In doing so, one should bear in mind that only a political referendum can decide on seccesion, Knez explained. He brought his address to a close by proposing that the world public be acquainted in an objective way with Slovenia's difficulties and intentions. He did not make it clear how and when that should be done. [passage omitted]

Janez Bohoric stressed in his speech that the executive council of Slovenia will keep on protecting the republican economy until the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People republican conference Presidium, the presidency of Serbia, and the Socialist Republic of Serbia Assembly cancel their call for the blockade, that is, until it ceases. The continuation of the blockade bears witness not only to the unwillingness of the official organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia to change their policy but also to their clear intention to isolate Slovenia from Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, Serbia is demanding that Slovenia participate in implementing Serbian policy in Kosovo, a policy that is escalating into hatred and mutual showdowns in the province, Janez Bohoric stressed.

After an exhaustive debate, during which the assessments from the introductory address regarding Slovenia's relations with Yugoslavia, the situation in Kosovo, and the economic blockade, were by and large only reiterated, the Slovene Assembly adopted a "Declaration on Regulating Relations of General Significance to the Repubulic of Slovenia."

The declaration states that because of the one-sided severance of economic relations between the Socialist Republic of Slovenia a situation has arisen whereby, due to political relations (which the top state organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia approve), the SFRY Constitution is not being heeded and the legal obligations envisioned by the federal legislation are not being fulfilled.

In such a situation, the declaration says the Socialist Republic of Slovenia Assembly will autonomously adopt measures for economic self-protection irrespective of obligations under federal legislation. In the light of Slovenia's reduced national income, the assembly will autonomously decide on its obligations toward the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the federation.

The declaration also stresses that the assembly will meet its obligations stipulated by the federal laws and the agreements with those republics and provinces with which normal political relations are established. It also states that the consolidation of the Slovene people's sovereignty is feasible by regulating its confederal status within Yugoslavia.

In conclusion, the federation organs and the socialist republics and provinces are called on to stop settling relations in Yugoslavia by force and to agree to a democratic dialogue.

National Magyar Community Formed in Slovenia

LD0803195190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] A Magyar national community has been formed in Slovenia. The organization wishes to protect the interests of the 10,000 Magyars living in the member republic of Yugoslavia. They wish to create nationality committees in the councils of Magyar-inhabited townships, which would be given the right of veto on issues that affect the nationalities.

New Slovene Constitution Wins Approval

LD0803134490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 7 March (TANJUG)—During their session today, the delegates of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia Assembly paid special attention to the draft amendments to the SR of Slovenia Constitution and to the draft constitutional law concerning the implementation of these constitutional amendments. The amendments to the SR of Slovenia Constitution and the constitutional law concerning their implementation will be proclaimed tomorrow during the session of all three chambers of the SR of Slovenia Assembly.

As a result of the proposed amendments, throughout the text of the SR of Slovenia Constitution the title "Republic of Slovenia" is used, omitting the word "socialist." [passage omitted summarizing the stipulations of the new constitution]

By virtue of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution, the Socialist Alliance has lost the rights it had during the electoral process thus merely becoming one of the equal parties in this republic.

Constitutional law regarding the implementation of constitutional amendments lays down that in their acts, titles, and documents all the organs and organizations in the Republic of Slovenia must apply the stipulation implicit in the amendments relating to the cancelation of the word "socialist" by 31 December 1992 at the latest. [passage omitted]

The constitutional law has also settled the question of whereby a law is to be passed by the end of the month on the setting up of a council for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms that will settle the council's rights and its relations vis-a-vis the organs and organizations in the republic. What happens is that until now this council has been operating under the aegis of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, and the general consensus of opinion is that the council should acquire a constitutional and legal basis so that, being an important institution, it can carry on with its work. [passage omitted, including indistinct portions: The new assembly should discuss SFRY constitutional proposals, the proposals can be discussed after a democratic election throughout the country]

Miran Potrc [Slovene Assembly president] stressed that the new constitution can be adopted only if it is an agreement on an equal footing between our nations on the condition and substance of our joint interests in Yugoslavia. To do this, Slovene proposals concerning its status in Yugoslavia and its republican constitution have to be formulated first. However, to formulate such proposals cooperation of all political subjects in Slovenia is required and they also have to be tested through a referendum. Much more time is required for all this. It is only fair that this important decision should be left for the delegates of the new Assembly mandate, said Potrc. [passage omitted, including indistinct portion: New constitutional proposals support the idea of a centralized Yugoslavia, Potrc explains the proposals by a dissenting group of constitutional commission members who suggested that the Slovene Assembly should not give up its consent to any unacceptable amendments during any stage of the process]

The constitutional commission has proposed that the Slovene Assembly give its agreement to the Assembly of Bosnia and Hercegovina proposal that the procedure to change the SFRY Constitution be set in motion. These proposals are completely in keeping with the proposals made by the Slovene Assembly, with the exception of the jurisdiction of the Yugoslav constitutional court.

At their separate sessions, the delegates of all three chambers of the SR of Slovenia Assembly decided the following in connection with the FEC [Federal Executive Council] proposal that the procedure to change the SFRY Constitution should be set in motion:

"If the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly does not rule that in consonance with Article 402 of the SFRY Constitution the assemblies of the republics and provinces can give their consent to every amendment separately and that the amendments to which consent has been given by the assemblies of all the republics and provinces will be adopted as changes to the SFRY Constitution, the SR of Slovenia Assembly will not give its consent to the FEC proposal as a whole for starting the procedure to change the SFRY Constitution." [passage omitted: reference to the reorganization of state administration]

In the discussion on draft changes and supplements to the standing orders of the SFRY Assembly chamber of the republics and provinces, the delegates made the assessment that all changes must be in the function of the consolidation of the process of coordination of the stands of the republics and provinces. For this reason, the changes are unacceptable that provide the possibility whereby after a specified period of time the stands can be coordinated, but the assemblies of all the republics and provinces had not expressed their views on a specific act. Also unacceptable are the changes whereby the conditions are at hand to propose temporary measures, but the assemblies of all socialist republics and autonomous socialist provinces had not expressed their final views on a specific act. [passage omitted: the Slovene Assembly supports the draft data protection act and the draft law on federal safeguards for bonds issued in 1990]

The SR of Slovenia Assembly resumes its work tomorrow. The joint session of all three chambers will proclaim amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia. Special attention will be paid to the implementation of the stances of the SR of Slovenia Assembly on Kosovo and the implementation of the stances of these assemblies regarding the severance of economic relations between the SR of Slovenia and the SR of Serbia.

Slovene SAWP-Socialist Party Nominates Kucan

LD0603232490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1856 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—The convention of the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP]-Socialist Party, held today in Ljubljana, proposed Milan Kucan as candidate for the post of Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia president. Kucan thereby became the joint candidate of the Slovene SAWP-Socialist Party and the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Democratic Reform Party, which recently proposed Kucan, as a member of its Presidium, as a candidate for the top post in the republic.

The following are Socialist Party candidates for membership in the presidency of the SR of Slovenia: Dr. Miroslava Gec-Korosec, Dr. Peter Novak, and Ciril Zlobec. The list of candidates for the assembly elections was endorsed. [passage omitted]

Slovene Politicians' Pensions Noted

AU0903090390

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 1-3 March carries articles on the high pensions paid to some prominent retired politicians in Slovenia, and the response by some of them to what one termed "election propaganda."

One 1 March on page 3, a 600-word article by G.I. entitled "Politicians, Directors, and Widows, and Then the Rest," makes "an end to the perpetual 'taboo subject' or rather the guessing about the pensions of some of our most meritorious citizens, former political and public workers, whose significant contribution to the shaping of the Slovene present is supposed to justify the highest, if not exceptional, financial recompense by society in their golden age."

The article lists the 26 highest pensions paid out in Ljubljana in February, headed by Ciril Mravlja with 22,544.50 dinars, Viktor Avbelj with 22,516.00 dinars, and Vladimir Klavs with 22,468.20 dinars. France Popit with 20,414.80 dinars is in the seventh place, and the ranking from the ninth place down is: Anton Vratusa 20,021.10 dinars; Zoran Polic, Vida Tomsic, Mitja Ribicic, and Ivo Fabinc 17,111.80 dinars; and Zdenka Kidric, Lidija Sentjurc, Pepca Kardelj, Janez Vipotnik, and Albert Jakopic 17,111.60 dinars.

On 2 March on page 3, DELO carries a commentary and three letters on the subject. Mihaela Zitko in a 400-word commentary, "Pension 'Glasnost,'" says that high pensions have caused much speculation "in these days when the standard of living has fallen much with the deepening economic crisis, for some people to the bare subsistence," and it is best to make matters clear. "The list of pensions is not slotted into any election campaign and it has not been published to cause alarm among the people. We will also publish lists of the highest salaries and of other pensions, too, if we obtain them; we are making efforts to do so." Zitko recalls the times when lists of names with wages earned were posted in enterprises, so that everybody would know who worked well or badly. "Why should we hide now what used to be public?" she asks.

In a 1,100-word letter, Janez Prijatelj, director general of the Pension and Disability Insurance Community of Slovenia, says that the publication of a 1 March article caused "lively reaction, especially on the radio and in numerous telephone enquiries to the Pension and Disability Pension Community." The community classifies pension data as "confidential in the second degree," and they have been revealed "contrary to the provisions of the rules on data security and protection." He states that all the pensions listed were "paid up fully according to the law," containing special provisions for 1941 Partisan Memorial Medal bearers or exceptional pensions. The February payments also included about 45 percent of back payments for the past year.

Dusan Semolic, secretary of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, in a 300-word letter, urges the Pension and Disability Pension Community to confirm the data published, to cite the regulations under which the exceptional pensions were calculated, and to publish a full list of these pensions.

Mitja Ribicic, in a 200-word letter, explains that his actual pension for February was 11,799 dinars and that the rest was a back payment. He also states that he enjoys "no material advantages or privileges," and that he does not object to the publication of his pension "for all the three years since I retired after more than 40 years of service."

On 3 March on page 3, DELO carries three more letters on the subject. France Popit, in a 200-word letter, lists the pension payments he received in 1989, ranging from 308.18 dinars in January to 3,462.73 dinars in December, and declares that in January he received 12,742.80 dinars.

Zoran Polic, in a 300-word letter, says that "your selection of the names" on the list is "not quite understandable," and thinks that some "even more significant sums" could be discovered. He suggests that DELO should publish the pay of its correspondents and of other well-paid citizens. "I finally suggest that you publish, as a much more interesting matter, the monthly incomes of all the candidates for important posts in the republic (whether in dinars or in foreign currencies) because these will be a much more enjoyable tidbit for your readers in the election campaign than the data on a few pensioners." He concludes his letter with the sentence: "I wish you more significant successes in your election propaganda."

Dr. Bogdan Oblak, in his 300-word letter, says he does not want to dwell on "the fact that the names on the list are symbols of wrecked economy and failed communism." He wonders about the protection of personal data, says that the assembly will adopt a law on data protection, and states that the journalist and "particularly the person who leaked the data should pay the appropriate price, even by dismissal or imprisonment."

Slovene Opinion Poll on Kosovo Events

AU1002205390

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 2 February on pages 1, 3 carries a 600-word report by V.F. on an opinion poll conducted among people in Slovenia about the Kosovo situation. "The opinion poll was carried out by the Contact Service of DELO on 30 and 31 January, and 462 telephone subscribers took part." The results of the poll are presented in five bar charts, as follows:

Question 1: "What do you think is the most effective way to solve the Kosovo question?"

Even more coercion, including a military occupation of Kosovo	1 percent
Abolishing the state of emergency and beginning a dialogue	39 percent
Accord among and a joint action of the republics	23 percent
Depriving Serbia of its powers and establishing a federal civil administration in the province	14 percent
International action under the auspices of the United Nations	6 percent
Direct agreement with Albania	0 percent
Don't know	17 percent

Question 2: "Do you agree with the Slovene government proposal for a temporary blockade on solidarity funds for Kosovo and Serbia?"

Fully agree	86 percent
Do not agree	4 percent
Don't know	5 percent
Not interested	5 percent

Question 3: "Who or what in your opinion is most to blame for the situation in Kosovo?"

Revived activities of Albanian separatists and irredentists	2 percent
Slovene and Croatian politics which advocate a democratic road	0 percent
Serbian politics which advocates force	68 percent
Federal organs that insist on the program for Kosovo	5 percent
Everybody a little	12 percent
Other reasons	2 percent
Don't know	11 percent

Question 4: "How, in your opinion, will events in Kosovo develop further?"

The situation will gradually settle down	21 percent
It will remain as it is	4 percent
The situation will further aggravate	42 percent
They may lead to civil war	19 percent
Don't know	14 percent

Question 5: "Do you think that Kosovo is at all 'ripe' for parliamentary democracy?"

Yes, it is ripe	23 percent
Not completely	31 percent
No, it is not ripe at all	20 percent
Other opinion	1 percent
Don't know	25 percent

Croat Socialist Alliance To Run as Independent

LD0803163490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croat Socialist Alliance-League of Socialists will stand in the forthcoming parliamentary elections as an independent political organization, under the slogan, "We are the party to be trusted." It promises to the electorate to continue the traditions of the Popular Front, which gathered members of all social strata irrespective of their religious, national, or any other affiliation. It will consistently promote ideals of social justice and welfare state. It will respect factions within its organization.

Leaders of the Socilaist Alliance-League of Socialists informed the public about their intention to be a party of the left, and, at the same time, a political organization operating in the interests of individuals in local communities. The Socialist Alliance wants to continue to be "the party of vitality."

The party will promote the formation of a socialist party that would operate throughout Yugoslavia. That Yugoslav orientation of the socialists is among its fundamental political orientations.

Magyar People's Party of Croatia Planned

LD0703143590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] On 18 March, the Magyar People's Party of Croatia [Horvator-Szagi Magyar Neppart] will be founded to represent the interests of the 30,000 Magyars living in Croatia. According to the platform of those initiating it, the organization demands that in a unified Yugoslavia equal rights be given to the use of the mother tongue as well as to providing general schools where the language of instruction is Hungarian regardless of the number of students. Other aims of the Magyar People's Party of Croatia are the protection of human rights, religious freedom, and the environment.

Ex-Communists Leading Opposition Groups

AU0803125990 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 90 p 2

[Gojko Beric commentary: "The Temptations of Democracy"]

[Text] When analyzing present tensions in the Croatian political arena, somebody recently asserted that the foundation of an autonomous province of Serbs in Croatia would not mean victory for Serbian nationalism, but a triumph for Croatian nationalism. In conformity with this remark, one could also say that the present victorious campaign of nationalists in Yugoslavia tells more about the persistence and success of the League of Communists [LC] in making peoples and nationalities quarrel with each other, than about political persuavesiveness, skill, and power of nationalist leaders, most of them former Communists themselves.

It is therefore completely unclear why there was so much surprise over the "dark seance" held in the Lisinski Hall in Zagreb, when this was only a natural consequence of the already announced end of the real socialist utopia and of the crash of Bolshevik ideology. True, people who are concerned, upset, and well-meaning can be consoled by the resolute voices of refusal to reconcile, of protest, and of condemnation that have come as a reaction to the clearly and precisely formulated political platform of Dr. Franjo Tudjman's party. However, will this reaction itself change the essence of things? Our experience so far shows that political condemnations issued by various forums not only manifested no political skill, but often created room for nationalism to spread. It was much more difficult to see, establish, and admit one's own guilt due to the fact that this definitely destructive and fatal social phenomenon thrived.

The eclipse of East European communist parties was announced at the moment when these parties started filling out the growing void in the visions of society given in their programs on the national issue, as well as with real and artificial national questions. Therefore, nationalism became "nom de guerre of Bolshevism and vice versa," the obverse and reverse of a totalitarian power. Regardless of some specificities of the aims declared in their program and their political commitment, Yugoslav Communists are no exception in that respect. The main proof for that is the fact that their organization fell apart at the moment when conceptual and ideological differences among them were "solved" in a more or less dramatic fashion, that is, after parts of the LC were "nationalized." The policy of national homogenization and "national reconciliation" finds a radical expression in the demand for a national state, something that involves dangerous interethnic and interrepublican conflicts. Having agreed to the basic principle from the prewar party struggles, according to which any national interest was considered to be a key political fact, objectively speaking, the LC has become a disintegrative factor in federal Yugoslavia, completely incapable of preventing the creation of conditions for turning the country back to the pre-AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] situation.

In an atmosphere of interethnic and religious hatred, general mistrust, intolerance, and confrontations, it is difficult to create a united Yugoslav democratic front that would represent an alternative to the one-party monopoly. Instead of this, and mainly as a consequence of the LC's national policy and the discontent with its historical achievement, the parties now on the stage are those whose main political orientation is anticommunism and the destruction of Yugoslavia.

However, when the situation is observed more closely, it can be seen that the main struggle for power is presently being waged among three kinds of Communists: orthodox, reformist, and former. The third kind are at the same time the biggest anticommunists. They include Dr. Franjo Tudjman, former partisan general, and Vuk Draskovic, one-time chief of cabinet to Mika Spiljak. Former Communist leaders also put themselves at the opposition's disposal. It was reported that Savka Dapcevic-Kucar, Mika Tripalo, Srecko Bijelic, Dragutin Haramija, "as well as other leaders during the Croatian Spring of 1971," agreed to join the four-party coalition headed by the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance as independent candidates.

"It is more than obvious where orthodox Communists have led us to," Dr. Jovan Miric concludes. "However, it seems that we still have not grasped where apostate Communists can lead us when linked with their former bitter rivals and enemies." The inclination toward totalitarianism obviously has a common origin here, so it is small wonder that democracy represents a great unknown to both groups, just as it does to all Yugoslav society, after all.

However, the appearance of rightist forces on the Yugoslav political scene has a good side, too, because the coming elections will show how many supporters their plans have in Yugoslavia. Some people have demanded that such political activity be prevented from using repression. However, the appearance of such forces cannot serve as an excuse for any moves by the still one-party state, which would mean reaching for undemocratic means during an already legalized multiparty struggle, according to the already tested formula—"a little bit of Bolshevism, a little bit of democracy." That would mean eliminating all political competition again and would definitely compromise the LC.

"What we are doing may not be democratic, but comrades, do we Bolsheviks have to make a fetish out of democracy!" You have certainly guessed who this was to use this logic in order to protect the "buildup of socialism." Stalin, of course.

Croat Presidency on Tudjman's Party

AU0603191090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 90 p 6

[G. Gojak report: "The Abuse of Democracy"]

[Text] Zagreb—The extreme nationalist declarations, revanchist messages, territorial pretensions, and the advocacy of a neo-Nazi vision that dominated the two-day meeting of the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC] in Zagreb and that have already been assessed in the right way and condemned by the broadest democratic public in the Socialist Republic of Croatia are unacceptable, stressed Ivo Latin at yesterday's session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia in dealing with and presenting the view of this highest state organ in the republic concerning the first general assembly of the CDC. Before moving onto the points on the agenda at yesterday's regular session, the SR of Croatia Presidency assessed that it must itself react to the just-held meeting of one of the parties in the SR of Croatia whose elements and messages brought disquiet and suspicion into virtually every house in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

Dangerous Division

Ivo Latin, president of the SR of Croatia Presidency, also recalled that in the middle of this month and in line with its decisions on political pluralism, the SR of Croatia Assembly had stressed that "those groups were particularly dangerous which openly kindled national, religious, or any other derisive hatred, thereby creating division and undermining the equal rights and freedoms of every person, people, and nationality. It was also warned that in this community, too, there have been certain evil ideas that arms, the redesigning of interrepublic borders, and the denial of the identity of the Serbian people in Croatia can be used to realize national interests and rights. In this connection, we stressed that we would most energetically oppose all this by relying on the Constitution. Dr. Franjo Tudjman and his ideological followers seem not to have understood us and seem to have forgotten that not everything is permissible in multiparty competition. Unfortunately, their later attempt to interpret, amend, and justify all that is also problematical," stressed Ivo Latin, emphasizing that extreme CDC members must think about this because statements and messages by numerous participants at this euphoric meeting were neither well intentioned nor democratic but, in fact, the opposite of this.

They have abused the new democratic framework that we advocate and for which we have created constitutional legal prerequisites, and they have forgotten that everyone must behave within the framework of the established rules of the "game." This is required of them by the interests of the citizen and the interests of this republic as a democratic legal state. Those who do not accept this, will have to revise their programs, as well as their activity.

Everything Will Be Examined

Of course, we have not so far nor will we in future disqualify anyone in advance or without reason. This, therefore, depends on each individual entity and its responsibility for words and deeds, explained Ivo Latin on behalf of the SR of Croatia Presidency, recalling that when it comes to the CDC as one of these parties, this was clearly expressed in the response to the invitation that was sent to him as the president of the SR of Croatia Presidency to attend their meeting. The reply was that he would not attend as he would be indirectly following the preelection activity of the CDC and other registered organizations with political aims with great interest and attention. It was also said in the reply to this invitation that it was expected that under conditions of a multiparty system, this meeting would be directed at creating the total well-being of every individual, the SR of Croatia, and the SFRY.

Since the whole course and atmosphere of this meeting was imbued with quite the opposite message, the SR of Croatia Presidency yesterday asked the Executive Council to also consistently implement its stand in opposing everything and everyone who acts in opposition to the Constitution and the law, in order to preserve and defend dignity and the basis of democracy for all citizens, regardless of nationality and religion, from any kind of willfulness and usurpation because, as it was stressed in the debate, no one will be allowed to impose on the public their will and interests that have not been democratically checked, which are based on spreading fear and hatred, and which try to compensate for the shortcomings in their own programs by attacking other people's national emotions, by falsely interpreting Croatian history, denigrating the existing constitutional order, and in other similar ways. All those who act in this way, like the CDC, do great harm in every respect to primarily their own nation and their own republic and compromise the democratic economic and political freedoms that have already been achieved, and divert us away from the road of progress and from joining the developmental processes of Europe and the world.

At the session, Antun Milovic, Executive Council president, confirmed the duty that had been undertaken by the republican "government" whereby the authorized departments will soon come forward with specific indicators of the elements of the events that are taking place on the public scene and determine whether they are at variance with the law and the Constitution. This not only relates to the activities of the CDC, but also to other groups, and it will be considered whether some people came for this meeting in Yugoslavia with visas or travel papers and how this therefore could have happened, and whether guests of the CDC were political emigres who had not been granted amnesty.

Otherwise, the session of the SR of Croatia Presidency continued with a discussion on a report on the economic situation in the SR of Croatia under conditions for the implementation of the program of economic reforms for this year and on the current transformation of the associations of communes in the SR of Croatia.

Independent Trade Union Set Up

AU0802135190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 90 p 6

[Djordje Pilcevic report: "Across Borders—With No Applause"]

[Excerpt] Sevojno—With the adoption of a declaration and statute, the Independent Trade Union of Workers of Yugoslavia was set up the afternoon of the day before yesterday [23 January] in the workers hall in Sevojno at a founding meeting which was attended by 186 workers from the largest collective in this region, the Slobodan Penezic Krcun Aluminum and Copper Rolling Mill.

It was decided at the founding meeting that the newly-founded Independent Trade Union of Workers of Yugoslavia would soon publish, through the media in all republics and provinces, a special announcement outlining the aims of the Independent Trade Union of Workers of Yugoslavia (workers' economic security, workers' social security, protection at work and the preservation of the work and living environment, the moral protection of workers, and the signing of collective agreements) and calling on the public to join the Independent Trade Union of Workers of Yugoslavia whose center is in Sevojno for the time being. [passage omitted]

FEC Appoints New Federal Secretaries

LD0602215590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1949 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] today appointed five assistant federal secretaries for foreign affairs.

They are Zvone Dragan, Milos Kostic, Dusan Rodic, and Branko Lukas, former SFRY ambassadors to China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Tanzania, and Nikola Skrelji, earlier ambassador to Gabon and then Kosovo Executive Council President.

The FEC appointed Jozef Korosec, former SFRY ambassador to the EC, as ambassador in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

Muslim Leaders Comment on Islam in Nation

LD0803111790 Tehran IRNA in English 0611 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 8. IRNA—Weak Muslims mean a weak Yugoslavia, a distinguished Muslim intellectual told the latest edition of Islamic periodical 'PREPOROD'.

In a detailed interview, Sarajevo wrier Alija Izetbegovic—the first of 12 Muslims to be imprisoned in 1982 for his book "The Islamic Declaration"—told 'PREPOROD' that the followers of Islam were one of the key factors in uniting Yugoslav society.

Izetbegovic, who spent 6 years in prison, said he was optimistic on the future of the Islamic community here. "It is visibly changing for the better", he said. He expected a great increase in educated and capable people in the community who would "stand firm behind clearly defined positions."

The dignity of the community in the postwar period was maintained by a handful of enthusiasts, the writer said. He spoke with regret of the "many more who destroyed that dignity, contributing nothing to Islam or Muslims, but taking everything from them".

Acting Reis-ul-Ulema Jakub Selimovski in 'DANAS' magazine this week alluded to compromises the community had been forced to make in the postwar period in order to survive under communist rule. The article referred to new winds blowing among the Islamic leadership, where younger and more educated imams are coming to the fore.

The number of believers in Yugoslavia, said Izetbegovic, "is probably over 4 million. The Islamic community must keep this in mind."

Meanwhile, the community was being increasingly accepted on the democratic and cultural scene, as it turned more to Muslim questions and insisted on Islamic authenticity.

"Islam is alive in Yugoslavia and so it will remain, with God's help," he said.

Turning to speculation in the Western press that Yugoslav Muslims might soon share the fate of their Bulgarian brethren, Izetbegovic said he did not believe a similar situation could arise in this country. Muslims in Yugoslavia had been given the status of nationhood, the third largest nation in Yugoslavia, and the country was more civilized and closer to Europe, he said.

While Bulgaria was part of the Warsaw Pact, Yugoslavia was nonaligned. Being a heterogeneous population, Yugoslavia also lacked the consensus necesary for "such a brutal act of genocide", he said.

With regard to Islam in the world, Izetbegovic said he considered lack of education to be the main problem besetting the Muslim countries. Instead of founding universities and institutes of higher learning, these countries sent their children abroad, where they became alienated and morally inhibited.

"Until we have our own universities, our education will not be for the masses, nor will it be Muslim," he said.

In Izetbegovic's opinion, Muslim countries suffering from illiteracy combined with high birthrates were endangering not only their freedom but their very existence.

Intellectuals in certain Muslim countries also suffered from a general lack of freedom, he added.

Intellectuals were being imprisoned for wishing to implement Islam in daily life, he said.

Izetbegovic, however, was optimistic on the future of Islam, in whose future he believes. His vision is of a strong and united Islamic world. The most important condition for bringing this about, he says, is to believe in this vision.

Serbian Bill on Political Organizations Noted

AU0403204990

[Editorial Report] Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 22 February carries on page 10 a 1,500-word text of the "Draft Bill on Political Organizations" followed by a 1,000-word "Explanation," under a joint banner headline "The Law on Parties."

Article 1 of the bill reads: "Citizens will be guaranteed the right of free association on a voluntary basis in political organizations." Article 2 defines political organizations as "independent organizations of citizens on a voluntary basis," and Article 3 provides that "a political organization may be set up by at least 100 citizens who have the right to vote." Article 4 prescribes the matters that the statute of a political organization must regulate, and Article 5 stipulates that an organization may begin work on the day of its registration in "the registry of political organizations."

Article 6 reads: "Registration will be refused to a political organization whose aim is:

"1. Violation of constitutionally guaranteed freedoms and rights of man and citizen;
"2. A violent destruction of the system established by the Constitution;
"3. To undermine the security and to endanger the independence of the SFRY and the territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY;
"4. To inflame national, racial, and religious hatred and intolerance;
"5. To encourage national and religious exclusivity and to implement nationalist aims, which undermine and endanger the constitutional freedoms and rights of others, and the constitutionally prescribed interests of society;
"6. To encourage the perpetration and the organizing of the perpetration of criminal acts;
"7. To propagate a war of conquest and other violence and terror."

Articles 7 and 8 regulate the registration of political organizations with a republican organ, Article 9 requires that changes to the statute be reported to the registration authority, and Article 10 requires the same in case an organization is wound up. Article 11 provides that an organization may be banned by a decision of the Supreme Court of Serbia for activities under Article 6.

Article 12 empowers political organizations to collect funds "through membership fees, contributions, and other sources, in conformity with the law." Article 13 provides for fines of up to 10,000 dinars for violations of Articles 9 or 10.

Article 14 says: "The sociopolitical organizations that intend to continue their work as political organizations may register by submitting their application and their statute to the appropriate authority.

"The sociopolitical organizations that fail to register within six months of this law coming into force shall cease their work."

Article 15 provides that the law "be applied in a uniform fashion throughout the republic," and Article 16 states that the law comes into force on the day it is published in the Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Bosnian-Hercegovinan Youth Leaving LCY

LD3001200690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—Rasim Kadic, president of the Bosnia and Hercegovina Socialist Youth Federation, has returned his party card, and the Republican Conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Bosnia and Hercegovina has disbanded its party organization. This has made the confused political situation even more complex. [passage omitted]

Does this mean that the League of Communists [LC] of Bosnia and Hercegovina will lose its younger generation? This uncertainty should be resolved within the next few days. The optimists in the party leadership believe that this republic's youth will not follow its leadership. However, political observers think that the fact that a senior youth organization leader has walked out on the LC is bound to be reflected in a massive departure from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY].

Opinion Poll Published on Party Congress

AU0102122890

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 29 January on page 7 carries a 150-word report with diagrams by Bruno Slogar on the results of a poll conducted by Zagreb VECERNJI LIST on the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and the party, entitled, "Public Opinion on the Congress and Party." The text reads as follows:

"After the suspension of the Extraordinary 14th Congress, we began a telephone poll on what citizens thought of the proceedings of the congress and the party in the situation that has arisen. In the course of 2 days, 23 and 24 January, we called 320 telephone subscribers in all the main towns in Yugoslavia and asked them several questions.

"The first question was concerned with whether the respondents had followed the congress, the second with what they thought about the walkout by the Slovene delegation, the third related to the way that the LCY is organized, and the fourth with whether the LCY is capable of transforming itself into a modern political party [stranka] which could offer a program acceptable to all Yugoslav republics."

The results are shown in four diagrams. The first diagram is a pie chart showing that 77.8 percent of respondents had followed the congress while the other 22.2 percent had not.

The second diagram is a bar-chart showing the results of the answers to the question: "Is the LCY, in your opinion, capable of transforming into a modern political party [stranka] which could offer a program that is acceptable to all Yugoslav republics?" The results in percentages are as follows:

City	Yes	No	Do not know/ Do not want to say
Titograd	62.5	25.0	12.5
Novi Sad	45.0	20.0	35.0
Belgrade	40.0	27.5	32.5
Skopje	40.0	40.0	20.0
Pristina	40.0	45.0	15.0
Ljubljana	35.0	40.0	25.0
Sarajevo	32.5	52.5	15.0
Zagreb	30.0	50.0	20.0

The third diagram is also a bar chart showing the results in percentages of answers to the question: "What do you think about the Slovene delegation leaving the congress?" The results are:

City	I approve this act	I do not approve	Do not know/ Do not want to say
Ljubljana	72.5	5.0	22.5
Zagreb	70.0	7.5	22.5
Pristina	60.0	22.5	17.5
Sarajevo	52.5	27.5	20.0
Skopje	25.0	50.0	25.0
Titograd	7.5	67.5	25.0
Belgrade	7.5	75.0	17.5
Novi Sad	5.0	57.5	37.5

The fourth diagram is also a bar chart which is superimposed onto a map of Yugoslavia. It shows the answers in percentages to the question: "What do you think the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should do?" They are as follows:

City	Remain a united party	Split into two parties	Organize as a league of leagues	Do not know
Ljubljana	12.5	2.5	52.5	32.5
Zagreb	30.0	10.0	40.0	20.0
Sarajevo	60.0	12.5	22.5	5.0
Novi Sad	77.5	0	7.5	15.0
Belgrade	75.0	5.0	15.0	5.0
Titograd	80.0	2.5	5.0	12.5
Pristina	42.5	7.5	35.0	15.0
Skopje	77.5	5.0	12.5	5.0

Novi Sad Youth Body on 3 Parties in LCY

AU1002143290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27-28 Jan 90 p 5

[Z.S. report: "Three Parties Within the LCY"]

[Text] Novi Sad [no date as published]—The Presidium of the Novi Sad Youth Organization has voiced its views on the occasion of the interruption of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] by issuing a special proclamation with a special postscript in the form of the following slogan: "We are in favor of democracy; we are in favor of Europe."

"The course of the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress has not taken us by surprise because its end has manifested something that had already been obvious on our political scene for a number of years," the Novi Sad Youth Organization Presidium says.

First, it has manifested the impossibility of the LCY's further existence as a monopolist organization. Second, it has shown that there are at least three political parties [stranka] within the LCY. It has also shown that democratic dialogue is not characteristic of the LCY such as it is now.

We are not afraid for Yugoslavia, Novi Sad youths say, because we think that the fate of Yugoslavia is not connected with the fate of the LCY.

SAWPY Discusses BORBA's Future

AU1102181590 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jan 90 p 8

[TANJUG report: "The SAWPY Committee For Press About BORBA"]

[Text] The BORBA newspaper publishing house should remain unified and retain the newspapers BORBA, VECERNJE NOVOSTI, and EKONOMSKA POLITIKA as part of its structure. The Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] will remain their founder. What the organizational structure will be should be decided by the working people, but the transformation should not be achieved through strikes, replacement of leaderships, and blackmail.

This was the main conclusion of yesterday's session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Committee for Press, Radio and Television held because of the dispute regarding the transformation of BORBA and the recent resignation of its director, Milan Rakas.

This is a time of serious agitation in Kosovo, the disintegration of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and the beginning of an economic reform that, as stated by Bozidar Colakovic, Presidium member of the SAWPY Republican Conference, need BORBA and its Yugoslav-oriented editorial policy. Therefore, the news about the disintegration of BORBA should not be accepted or considered serious.

Colakovic, the bulk of whose speech was adopted in the form of committee conclusions prior to a session of the SAWP Federal Conference Presidium on this topic, was of the opinion that the transformation should be discussed with "cool heads," bearing in mind that $18 million worth of social funds have been invested in BORBA, something that obliges us to behave responsibly. Colakovic then said that the assessments that the Serbian leadership is destroying BORBA are pure fabrication—it is not in the interest of Serbia to do this, just as it has never been in its interest to destroy anything Yugoslav. He announced that the SAWP Federal Conference will soon conduct an extensive discussion about BORBA's editorial policy.

(Outgoing) director of BORBA Milan Rakas recalled the already known chronology of events concerning the transformation of the house and three unsuccessful referendums in VECERNJE NOVOSTI, which is against the concept of the unified work organization.

Radoje Brajovic, chief and responsible editor of VECERNJE NOVOSTI, conveyed the view of the VECERNJE NOVOSTI employees expressed yesterday, according to which the paper was explicitly against a unified firm. The concept of a unified enterprise is rejected because it is centralist and hinders the development of VECERNJE NOVOSTI. However, Brajovic explained, the paper does not want to leave the Borba organization, but only wants a modern management based on market principles.

Vojislav Micunovic from the Serbian SAWP held the view that the discussion about the transformation of BORBA was polarized in the negative sense. First of all, one should stop political insinuations in the discussion and postpone a discussion in the SAWP Federal Conference Presidium to another time because BORBA might, meanwhile, agree on the transformation that is, in his view, the matter concerning all employees.

In a brief reply, Rakas said that he has never accused the leadership of Serbia for its attitudes toward BORBA, but only mentioned by name the people who unjustifiably accused BORBA of conducting an anti-Serbian policy.

Miskovic, USSR Envoy Discuss Economic Reform

LD0803162890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1338 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—Zoran Miskovic, Federal Executive Council general secretary, today received Vadim Loginov, the USSR ambassador in the SFRY. Talks conducted on this occasion were devoted to implementing economic reform in the SFRY.

Protest Issued Over Bucharest Security Incident

LD0803115190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has instructed the Yugoslav ambassador in Bucharest to express our country's dismay and concern over barbaric incidents and unfair treatment of the players and supporters of Partizan soccer team in Bucharest following last night's match with the local team, Dinamo, and above all, over the security organs' unacceptable passivity.

The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs stresses that incidents and the behavior by competent organs could damage the friendly atmosphere in relations between our two countries resulting, in particular, from unselfish help, support, and sympathy by the Yugoslav public, our organizations, and citizens for the Romanian people and their efforts toward democratization.

"We hope that the Romanian authorities will find the way of resolving this problem and will distance themselves from the troublemakers to prevent the incidents that occurred during the match and after from disrupting the good atmosphere in relations between Yugoslavia and Romania," the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs stresses in a statement.

In connection with the incident, the Romanian charge d'affaires in Belgrade has also been called to the Federal Secretariat.

Pancevski Regrets Bulgarian Policy on Macedonians

*LD0603161690 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1228 GMT 6 Mar 90*

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—We expected that the new policy of Bulgaria and its Communist Party, as well as the undoubtedly significant new democratic climate would lead to a change of attitude towards the Macedonian minority in Pirin Macedonia, Yugoslav communist leader Milan Pancevski told TANJUG.

He was asked to comment on a statement by Bulgarian Communist Party leader Aleksandur Lilov, who said that there were no Macedonians but only Bulgarians in Pirin district, describing it as the cradle of Bulgarian history.

Pancevski said that to acknowledge the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria, besides being a recognition of the existing reality, would mean to be in keeping with the country's initiated democratization process. He warned that a road towards a democratic society at the threshold of the 21st centurty and for entering Europe cannot be built by returning to the known 19th-century chauvinist theses.

Notwithstanding their long experience with the negative attitude of former Bulgarian communist leadership to the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria, Yugoslav communists are surprised by the present [word indistinct], which is completely in line with the policy of Todor Zhivkov, said Pancevski.

He emphasized that for Yugoslav communists, giving up the greater Bulgaria theses would be the best proof of a break with the old practice and a confirmation that the principles of friendship, good-neighbourliness and cooperation have definitively prevailed in the Bulgarian Communist Party leadership.

Because of this policy, we have to continue explaining, patiently and persistently, the elements and principles of new international cooperation, at the core of which are also the rights of national minorities, said Pancevski. He noted that all this would be done in the hope that the leadership of Bulgaria and its communist party would very soon realize how much the denial of the country's Macedonian minority is contrary to its proclaimed democratic policy and deprives it of the necessary legitimacy.